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Fourteenth Annual Report

OF THE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

FOR THE YEAR 1923

A Summary of Work and an Accounting

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

National Office: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York

January, 1924

Date.....

J. E. SPINGARN, Treasurer,
69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

I enclose / pledge the sum of $.....to the General Fund
$.....to the Anti-Lynching Fund
$.....to the Legal Defense Fund
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Address.....

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TO ALL READERS OF THIS REPORT:

In the pages which follow you will read of the aims and the accomplishments during 1923 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We feel sure that you will heartily approve of the former and rejoice at the latter. Our ever present problem, however, is that of finding money enough to do even the most necessary work. Unfortunately, ours is not a popular cause. It is a difficult task to raise funds for it. In too large a percentage of the worth-while cases which come to us do we have to refuse aid because of the lack of necessary funds. Our executives must give much of their time towards raising money - which means a lessening of efficiency for work to be done.

Will you give that they may execute? You can do so in two ways: first, by making as large a contribution as your interest and means will allow and renewing that contribution each year; second, by including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in your will.

Won't you do both and thereby do your part towards bringing common justice and equal opportunity to all Americans regardless of color?

Sincerely,

Moorfield Storey

President

FOREWORD

It is not to obtain mere benefits and privileges for the Negro that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is striving; it is striving to vindicate the American idea. That idea is: that every man shall have opportunity for the highest self development and that his achievements shall not be denied recognition on their merits.

In accordance with this idea, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been commending the achievements of individual Negroes and calling those achievements to the attention of the nation. A case in point is that of Professor George W. Carver, of Tuskegee, awarded the Spingarn Medal at the Association's annual conference in Kansas City, whose discoveries were made known to the entire country.

Increasingly, as Negroes distinguish themselves in the arts and sciences, it will be the pleasant function of the Association to call these triumphs to the attention of Americans.

Meantime, the fight for justice continues. It brought several encouraging results in the year 1923. Known lynchings decreased in that year to 28 from 61 in 1922. This alone demonstrated that although the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was not passed in the Senate, the fight to put it through Congress was not in vain. Public attention has at last been concentrated upon this evil. Americans now realize that it is not the lives of Negroes alone that are concerned but the honor of America, and respect for law and orderly processes.

In the case of the 54 members of the 24th Infantry, still imprisoned in Leavenworth Penitentiary for their alleged share in the Houston Riot of 1917, the Association's campaign for a Presidential pardon for these men united the entire race in an effort that brought 120,000 signatures to the petition to be presented to President Coolidge; demonstrating an increasing willingness of Negroes in America to work together for a common good.

In connection with the northward migration of Negroes, the N. A. A. C. P. has not only encouraged it by making known the facts of northern opportunity and southern oppression of the Negro; it has also urged its branches and other agencies to assist the new-

comers in every way to adapt themselves to conditions, social, economic, religious and educational, in their new environment.

The major efforts and accomplishments of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for the year 1923, are set forth in detail in the following pages and commended to the attention of all Americans, white and colored.

I. THE ARKANSAS CASES*

Twelve Negroes sentenced to death for alleged participation in the Arkansas Riots of 1919 have been saved. All but eight of the sixty-seven sentenced to long prison terms have been set free.

THE FIRST SIX

The order dismissing the petition for a writ of habeas corpus was reversed by the United States Supreme Court in a far-reaching and important decision. That decision affirmed a principle which was phrased as follows in a letter of congratulation sent to the N. A. A. C. P. by Mr. Louis Marshall, the eminent lawyer of New York, who defended Leo Frank:

> ". . . I regard it (the decision) as a great achievement in constitutional law. Due process of law now means, not merely a right to be heard before a court, but that it must be before a court that is not paralyzed by mob domination."

The Association's President, Mr. Moorfield Storey. argued the case of the six men before the Supreme Court on January 9, 1923. Mr. Storey alleged in his brief: (1) that individuals, newspapers and such organizations in Arkansas as the Helena Rotary Club and the Robert L. Kitchens Post of the American Legion, also the courts of Arkansas, had tried to railroad the Negroes to death; (2) that the rioting had been begun by whites when the Negroes organized to obtain redress against conditions of peonage, or debt slavery, prevailing in Arkansas; (3) that the Negroes had been falsely accused of organizing to "massacre whites," and that on this pretext large numbers of unoffending colored people had been hunted down like beasts and killed by armed whites who rushed to the scene from adjacent counties and states.

Mr. Storey's brief cited testimony of H. F. Smiddy, former deputy sheriff of Phillips County, Arkansas, and T. K. Jones, special agent for the Missouri Pacific Railroad, both white, who swore that the white man for whose murder the Negroes were convicted was killed accidentally by members of the white posse, and the Negroes

*Details of the history of the Arkansas massacre and of the Association's fight to save the 12 men condemned to death and the 67 sentenced to long prison terms in connection with the riots are contained in the Association's 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th Annual Reports.

had nothing to do with the murder. These men further swore that they personally whipped the prisoners with straps studded with metal, put strangling drugs in their nostrils, and used an electric chair, to compel the Negroes to testify in a manner desired by the mob. The brief summarized as follows the conditions under which the Arkansas trials were conducted:

"We have the whole community inflamed against the defendants, prepared themselves to lynch them, only refraining from so doing because they are assured by leading citizens that the trial would accomplish the same purposes, a condition of things where no man who was on that jury and had ventured to vote for acquittal or delay could have lived in Phillips County, according to the testimony of one of the men who engaged in the business of manufacturing evidence for the State. We have false statements printed in the newspapers; we have society substantially organized to convict these people; and more than that, we have witnesses deliberately terrorized and forced on pain of death or torture to give false testimony. We have the testimony of the witnesses themselves that they were so terrorized and that their testimony was false. We have the testimony of the men who inflicted the torture; we have a mass of evidence which shows, if evidence can show anything, that the defendants never had a fair trial and in fact that they are innocent. As to some of them there is no evidence as to any act or word except that they were with a gang of Negroes assembled to all purposes for self-defense.

"If this Court on reading this petition, these affidavits and this record is not satisfied that if there ever was a case in which *habeas corpus* should be granted this is the case, no argument of counsel will convince them, and we submit with confidence that either *habeas corpus* should be granted in this case or *habeas corpus* is not a practical remedy for such outrages as the evidence in this case discloses."

On February 19 the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision which reversed the convictions of these six men, Frank Moore, *et al.*, and directed the Federal District Court to inquire into the cases and ascertain if the men had had a fair trial in the courts of Arkansas. Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes delivered the majority opinion of the Supreme Court, which was concurred in by Chief Justice Taft and Associate Justices Brandeis, Butler, Van Devanter and McKenna. Mr. Justice Reynolds filed a dissenting opinion concurred in by Mr. Justice Sutherland. After a recital of the facts admitted by demurrer, the majority opinion outlines the facts and the law as follows:

"According to the affidavits of two white men and the colored witnesess on whose testimony the petitioners were convicted, produced by the petitioners since the last decision of the (Arkansas State) Supreme Court hereafter mentioned, the Committee (of Seven) made good their promise by calling colored

witnesses and having them whipped and tortured until they would say what they wanted, among them being the two relied on to prove the petitioners' guilt. However that may be, a grand jury of white men was organized on October 27th, with one of the Committee of Seven, and it is alleged, with many of those organized to fight the blacks, upon it, and on the morning of the 29th the indictment was returned. On November 3rd, the petitioners were brought into Court, informed that a certain lawyer was appointed their counsel and were placed on trial before a white jury—blacks being systematically excluded from both grand and petit juries. The Court was crowded with a throng that threatened the most dangerous consequences to anyone interfering with the desired result. The counsel did not venture to demand delay or a change of venue, to challenge a juryman or to ask for separate trials. He had had no preliminary consultation with the accused, called no witnesses for the defense although they could have been produced, and did not put the defendants on the stand. The trial lasted about three-quarters of an hour and in less than five minutes the jury brought in a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree. According to the allegations and affidavits there never was a chance for the petitioners to be acquitted; no juryman could have voted for an acquittal and continued to live in Phillips County and if any prisoner by any chance had been acquitted by a jury he could not have escaped the mob. . . .

"We shall not say more concerning the corrective process afforded to the petitioners than that it does not seem to us sufficient to allow a Judge of the United States to escape the duty of examining the facts for himself when if true as alleged they make the trial absolutely void. We have confined the statement to facts admitted by the demurrer. We will not say that they cannot be met, but it appears to us unavoidable that the District Judge should find whether the facts alleged are true and whether they can be explained so far as to leave the state proceedings undisturbed.

"*Order reversed. The case to stand for hearing before the District Court.*"*

By this decision the Supreme Court not only reversed the lower court but reversed the principle enunciated by the United States Supreme Court itself in the case of Frank *vs.* Mangum, 237 U. S., 309, 335, (the Leo Frank case) where the court ruled that Federal courts had no right to interfere even though it were shown the trial of the prisoner was dominated by mob spirit.

Instead of re-trying the men the Arkansas authorities offered a compromise of a plea of guilt of a lesser charge, which was accepted by Scipio A. Jones, the Association's attorney in Arkansas. On November 11, Governor McRae commuted the sentences, leaving the men eligible for parole within a short time.

THE SECOND SIX

In the case of the other six of the twelve men sentenced to death, the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas on June 25, 1923,

* Moore et al v. Dempsey, 261 U. S. 86.

ordered the discharge from custody of Ed Ware and the five other defendants.

These men had been remanded for trial in the Phillips County Circuit Court in 1919, on the ground that the jury had rendered its verdict improperly. Following that reversal, the men were re-convicted and re-sentenced to death in the Phillips County Circuit Court.

On second appeal by the attorneys of the N. A. A. C. P., the Supreme Court of Arkansas, in 1920, reversed the lower court, on the ground that Negroes were barred from juries in Phillips County, in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and ordered a new trial. Thereafter, at two successive terms of court the Arkansas authorities declared unreadiness to proceed with the trials, although the N. A. A. C. P. attorneys announced their readiness. Under the Arkansas statute of limitations this failure of the state to act, automatically entitled the defendants to discharge. A writ of dismissal being denied after change of venue had been obtained to the Lee County Circuit Court, the N. A. A. C. P. attorneys took an appeal to the State Supreme Court which rendered the decision of June 25, 1923, freeing the men from custody.*

The decisions freeing the twelve men sentenced to death influenced the fate of the sixty-seven who had been sentenced to long prison terms. According to Mr. Scipio A. Jones, the N. A. A. C. P. attorney in Arkansas, all but eight of them have been freed. The N. A. A. C. P. intends to complete the fight it undertook in 1919 by applying for writs of dismissal for these men.

Mr. Scipio A. Jones, as leading attorney for the N. A. A. C. P. in Arkansas, worked bravely and indefatigably against tremendous odds from the time of the riots until the final victories were won.

After the change of venue to Lee County Mr. Jones was assisted by the firms of Mann & McCulloch and R. D. Smith.

This long fought legal battle resulted not only in the saving of

---

*After this decision the warden of the State Penitentiary at Little Rock declined to receive the prisoners, on the ground that he had no authority to admit them, thereby adding to the cost of $7,000 which the State had already incurred for their board and lodging. The men were therefore turned loose at the gate of the prison. N. A. A. C. P. attorneys rushed them in automobiles to Little Rock, furnished them with transportation to the North, and the men are now at work in northern cities.

the lives of twelve innocent men and the release of some three score others from prison but in the opening up and placing before the people of the United States the whole nefarious practice of peonage in the South; in the exposing of the conspiracy which had been formed to justify the massacre of more than two hundred and fifty colored men and women, and which would have been used afterwards as an excuse for similar crimes; and in the winning in the Supreme Court of the United States a decision which stands as a protection for white men as well as for black men who may thereafter be tried under the conditions which surrounded the Negro peons of Arkansas.

INTERSTATE RENDITION CASES

In two cases the Association has opposed the extradition of colored men wanted in southern states, on the ground that they would probably be lynched instead of being tried in court.

1. In *New Jersey* the N. A. A. C. P. cooperated with William B. Brandon, attorney, of Newark, in opposing the return to Georgia of Lockhart Drake, wanted on a charge of burglary and shooting with intent to kill. The N. A. A. C. P. wired Governor Silzer opposing extradition because of Georgia's lynching record. Governor Silzer thereupon declined to sign the extradition papers.

2. In *Michigan* the Battle Creek Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. employed counsel to defend John Rowland and his wife who had come to Michigan from North Carolina where they had been held in peonage. The planter from whom they had escaped, having traced them to Battle Creek, wired the chief of police there to arrest them. Governor Groesbeck of Michigan, upon hearing the facts presented by the N. A. A. C. P. counsel, refused to surrender the couple to the North Carolina officers and ordered Rowland's release.

The Association's policy of opposing the extradition of colored men from Northern states to Southern states, where it is almost certain they will not be accorded a fair trial in court on the charges against them, is a part of its fight against lynching. It is intended not only to safeguard the constitutional rights of individual Negroes but to focus public attention upon the denial of fair trials to Negroes accused of crimes against white persons in the courts of most of the Southern states.

II. THE DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL*

When the 68th Congress convened, December 3, 1923, Representative L. C. Dyer re-introduced the Anti-Lynching Bill as H. R. No. 1.

The Secretary attended the opening of the 68th Congress and conferred with Mr. Dyer and other Republican leaders about the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. Representative Martin B. Madden, holding the most powerful chairmanship in the House—of the Appropriations Committee—said he believed the Bill would again be passed in the House of Representatives. Representative Theodore E. Burton of Ohio concurred in this opinion.

The Secretary also interviewed Mr. C. Bascom Slemp, the President's secretary, by whom he was presented to President Coolidge. Prior to this the Secretary had written President Coolidge a letter urging him to speak of lynching in his first message to Congress. In his letter the Secretary said:

> "There is no matter on which the colored people of the United States have felt so strongly and so unitedly since the Emancipation Proclamation as the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. With deep interest they received the declaration in the Republican National Platform of 1920, which said: 'We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country, which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.' They welcomed President Harding's recommendation in his first message that 'Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly representative democracy.'
>
> "Colored people feel that the issue of the Dyer Bill was not decided on its merits in the last Congress, for the Southern Democratic senators declined to let the bill be even discussed after its passage in the House, and the Republican senators virtually acquiesced in the high-handed tactics employed by the Southern senators in enforcing their decision.
>
> "The facts concerning lynching were laid before the country in the House debates reported in the Congressional Record. Colored people feel therefore, that the time for investigation is past; that a definite step must now be taken by the Federal Government in the face of thirty-five years of failure by the states and in the face of the growing disrespect for government and civilization that is the product of unchecked mob activity.

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*The Association's endeavor to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill in the 67th Congress, its passage by the House of Representatives, and the measure's failure by filibuster in the Senate, are fully covered by the Association's 13th Annual Report.

"We are, therefore, venturing to hope that in your message to Congress you will make some definite and forcible pronouncement in this sense and call upon Congress to pass this vital piece of legislation."

During the interview President Coolidge told the Secretary that he had included in his message a paragraph regarding lynching. In the message delivered to Congress on December 6th the President said:

"Numbered among our population are some 12,000,000 colored people. Under our Constitution their rights are just as sacred as those of any other citizen. It is both a public and a private duty to protect those rights. The Congress ought to exercise all its powers of prevention and punishment against the hideous crime of lynching, of which the Negroes are by no means the sole sufferers but for which they furnish a majority of the victims."

The National Office will press for the passage of the Dyer Bill in the present Congress.

III. LYNCHING

The number of lynchings in the United States declined sharply during 1923, to 28 as against 61 in 1922. Agitation for the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, together with the northward migration of colored people, helped to bring about this improvement, the greatest decrease in lynching, in consecutive years, for a period of thirty-five years.

The high record of lynchings since 1889 occurred in 1892 when there were 226, with 155 colored victims and 71 white. The lowest record prior to 1923 was in 1913 when there were 48 lynchings, 47 of the victims being colored and 1 white.

Only 7 out of the 28 persons lynched in 1923 were charged with assault upon women, and in the case of one of these, the janitor of the University of Missouri at Columbia, grave doubt of the victim's guilt was subsequently brought out. Other offenses for which lynchings occurred include: aiding in escape, associating with white women, being in an automobile accident, remaining in a town where Negroes were not wanted, and frightening white children while walking along a road. Two of the victims of lynching mobs were white men. One colored woman was lynched, in Pickens, Miss., when a mob was searching for her brother.

There have been no convictions of members of lynching mobs. After the lynching of James T. Scott at Columbia, Missouri, five men were indicted, one charged with first degree murder and the other four with obstructing an officer. The lynching took place on April 29. On July 9 George Barkwell, the man charged with first degree murder, was tried and acquitted.

LYNCHING PREVENTED

One encouraging sign is the number of instances in which courageous officers of the law have prevented lynchings. The following are outstanding:

Savannah, Ga.: When a mob of 1,000 or more attempted to storm the Chatham County jail and take Walter Lee, an eighteen-year-old Negro boy, Sheriff Merritt W. Dixon stood his ground. He first had a fire hose turned on the mob, without effect. He then held the mob at bay until state troops came and mounted machine guns around the jail. Most of the shooting was in the air, but one man was killed and another seriously wounded.

Palatka, Fla.: A mob tried to take Elijah Lawrence from the Putnam County jail. They were repulsed by Sheriff P. M. Hagan who was shot in the left hand by one of about fifty bullets fired by the crowd.

Tamms, Ill.: At the request of Sheriff Roche of Cairo, who said he feared the lynching of two men held in the Tamms jail, a company of Illinois guardsmen was sent to the jail. The troops escorted the prisoners to the county jail.

St. Joseph, Mich.: Sheriff George Bridgman prevented a mob of several hundred men from storming the county jail and taking two Negro prisoners.

Lynchings were also prevented at Waukegan, Ill., Kelliher, Minn., and Johnstown, Pa. The trouble at Waukegan and Johnstown was the result of labor disputes between Negroes and whites.

The above and similar instances are largely due to the fact of the publicity given to lynching and its causes in the effort to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in Congress.

LYNCHING—1923

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

Jan. 1—*Bronson, Fla.:*
Sam Carter, 45 years old, was shot to death by a mob near Bronson. Carter was reported to have confessed that he transported in a wagon for several miles a Negro being sought for an attack upon a white woman.

2—*Lawrence, Miss.:*
Ben Webster was taken from a passenger train on the Alabama & Vicksburg Railroad by a band of about twenty-five masked men and hanged. He had been arrested and was being taken to trial for the murder of a white man.

3—*Shreveport, La.:*
Leslie Leggett was lynched by a party of men who kidnaped him. His body was found riddled with bullets. The police claimed that complaints had been received that Leggett was associating with white women.

16—*Harrison ,Ark.:*
C. E. Gregor (white), a striker, employed on the Missouri & North Arkansas Railroad, was hanged to a bridge after he had surrendered to a citizen's committee which had been organized for driving the railroad strikers out of the county. Who hanged Gregor was not definitely established but newspaper dispatches stated "everyone believes it was done by members of the crowd" which formed the citizen's committee.

Jan. —*Bishop, Texas:*
Dr. J. Smith, a physician, was placed in jail and burned to death after his hands and feet had been cut off. It was alleged that Dr. Smith while riding in his automobile collided with a car occupied by whites. The whites refused to accept damages and later instituted charges against the doctor. Subsequently the colored physician accidentally injured a Mexican woman with his car. It was then that he was arrested and thrown into jail.

25—*Newberry, Fla.:*
The body of Abe Wilson was found hanging from a limb of a tree near Newberry. Wilson was taken from jail by a mob during the absence of the sheriff who left the jail unguarded. He had been convicted of cattle stealing.

Feb. 3—*Milledgeville, Ga.:*
George Butts and Clinton Chambers were lynched near the line dividing Hancock and Baldwin Counties. They were alleged to have shot a member of a posse that was pursuing them on account of robberies they were said to have committed.

April 28—*Columbia, Mo.:*
James T. Scott, charged with attacking a fourteen-year-old white girl, was taken from jail by a mob which was watched in its work by students of the University of Missouri, and hanged to a railroad bridge. Subsequently grave doubts were cast upon the victim's guilt.

May 10—*Helena, Ala.:*
After protecting himself against a mob for six hours, John King, employed in the mines, was lynched by men whom he accused of taking money from his pay envelope.

June 7—*Palm Beach Island, Fla.:*
The body of Henry Simmons, riddled with bullets, was found hanging to a tree. Simmons was suspected of having shot and killed a policeman.

11—*Ashland, Miss.:*
An unnamed colored man, charged with stabbing a white man, was taken from jail by a mob, hanged, and his body was riddled with bullets. The white man, who had charged the Negro with stealing, attempted to search him and was stabbed so severely that he later died.

15—*Homestead, Fla.:*
Roy Gaines, charged with shooting and killing a town marshal, was bound to a tree and shot to death.

July 3—*Schulenberg, Texas:*
Two hundred residents of Fayette, Colorado and Lavaca Counties, took Jesse Bullock, accused of attacking a white girl, from the City Marshal and hanged him.

July 12—*Adamsville, Ala.:*
Will McBride, 60 years old, was taken from bed and beaten to death. He had been arrested on a charge of assault and dismissed by the judge after some school children had become frightened at seeing him walk along the road.

29—*Yazoo City, Miss.:*
Willie Minnifield was burned at the stake by a mob which accused him of attacking a white woman with an axe, inflicting wounds believed to be fatal.

Aug. 4—*Sardis, Miss.:*
Howard Flotow, charged with attacking a white woman, was taken from the county jail and hanged.

10—*Murphyville, Ark.:*
Ed. Brock, alleged to have insulted a white woman, was whipped by a mob and then hanged.

17—*Bleckly County, Ga.:*
Aaron Harris, a convict, accused of attacking the wife of a farmer while going for water for the convict road gang, was taken from jail, carried fourteen miles, and hanged.

17—*Wellston, Ga.:*
Lee Green, charged with attacking a white woman, was taken from officers by a mob while he was being taken to the county seat and shot to death after he had refused to jump from a tree he had been forced to climb with a rope about his neck.

24—*Jacksonville, Fla. (near):*
The handcuffed, bullet-riddled body of a Negro found on a road near Jacksonville was identified as that of Ben Hart, a farm hand, who had been suspected of peeping into the bedroom of a girl in a neighboring community, known as Three-Mile Branch. Reports to the sheriff's office were said to indicate that Hart was innocent.

Sept. 29—*Pickens, Miss.:*
An eighteen-year-old colored girl was shot by a mob which was in search of her brother who was said to have borrowed fifty cents from a white man and refused to pay him ten cents interest.

Oct. 12—*Richmond, Va. (near):*
Horace Carter was taken from two officers and shot to death by a group of about ten persons. He was being taken to jail on a charge of having attacked a white woman.

Nov. 3—*Eufaula, Okla.:*
Dallas Sowell, accused of attacking a white woman, was taken from jail and lynched by a band of 11 men who overpowered two deputies and made away with their prisoner.

Dec. 17—*Marlow, Okla.:*

A. W. Birch, white hotel owner, and Robert Jerrigan, Negro porter, were shot down by a mob of more than 15 men who went to the hotel where the Negro had been employed and shot both men down when Birch attempted to dissuade them from their threat to lynch Jerrigan for remaining in the town where no Negroes were allowed.

29—*Jacksonville, Fla. (near):*

The headless body of Edgar Phillips was found in a creek. He was said to have been a victim of a "death code" of Duval County moonshiners.

30—*Jacksonville, Fla. (near):*

Eugene Burnam was shot to death by a band of white men. He was said to be a victim of a "death code" of Duval County moonshiners.

LYNCHING RECORD FOR 1923

Name	Date	Place	Manner of Lynching
1. Sam Carter	Jan. 1	Bronson, Fla.	Shot
2. Ben Webster	Jan. 2	Lawrence, Miss.	Hanged
3. Leslie Leggett	Jan. 3	Shreveport, La.	Shot
4. C. E. Gregor (white)	Jan. 16	Harrison, Ark.	Hanged
5. J. Smith	Jan. —	Bishop, Texas	BURNED
6. Abe Wilson	Jan. 25	Newberry, Fla.	Hanged
7. George Butts	Feb. 3	Milledgeville, Ga.	———
8. Clinton Chambers	Feb. 3	Milledgeville, Ga.	———
9. James T. Scott	April 28	Columbia, Mo.	Hanged
10. John King	May 10	Helena, Ala.	———
11. Henry Simmons	June 7	Palm Beach Island, Fla.	Hanged and Shot
12. ———	June 11	Benton Co., Miss.	Hanged and Shot
13. Roy Gaines	June 15	Homestead, Fla.	Shot
14. Jesse Bullock	July 3	Schulenberg, Texas	Hanged
15. Will McBride	July 12	Adamsville, Ala.	Beaten to death
16. Willie Minnifield	July 29	Yazoo City, Miss. (near)	BURNED
17. Howard Flotow	Aug. 4	Sardis, Miss.	Hanged
18. Ed. Brock	Aug. 10	Murphyville, Ark.	Hanged
19. Aaron Harris	Aug. 17	Bleckley Co., Ga.	Hanged
20. Lee Green	Aug. 17	Wellston, Ga.	Shot
21. Ben Hart	Aug. 24	Jacksonville, Fla. (near)	Shot
22. ——— (colored girl)	Sept. 29	Pickens, Miss.	Shot
23. Horace Carter	Oct. 12	Richmond, Va. (near)	Shot
24. Dallas Sowell	Nov. 3	Eufaula, Okla.	———
25. A. W. Birch (white)	Dec. 17	Marlow, Okla.	Shot
26. Robert Jerrigan	Dec. 17	Marlow, Okla.	Shot
27. Edgar Phillips	Dec. 29	Jacksonville, Fla. (near)	———
28. Eugene Burnam	Dec. 30	Jacksonville, Fla. (near)	Shot

SUMMARY

BY STATES

Alabama	2
Arkansas	2 (1 white)
Florida	7
Georgia	4
Louisiana	1
Mississippi	5 (1 woman)
Missouri	1
Oklahoma	3 (1 white)
Texas	2
Virginia	1
Total	28

ALLEGED OFFENSES

Murder	3
Murderous assault	1
Attack on white woman	7
Insulting white woman	1
Associating with white women	1
Peeping into white girl's window	1
Shooting white man	2
Stabbing white man	1
Cattle stealing	1
Railroad striker	1 (white)
Automobile accident	1
Accusing white men of stealing	1
Aiding escape	1
Frightening children	1
In search of another	1 (woman)
Defending Negro	1 (white)
Remaining in town where Negroes were not allowed	1
Victims of moonshiners' "death code"	2
Total	28

MANNER OF LYNCHING

Shot	11 (1 woman) (1 white)
Hanged	11 (1 white)
Burned	2
Beaten to death	1
Manner unknown	3
Total	28

IV. RACE RIOTS

The most disastrous race clash during the year occurred at *Rosewood, Fla.*, during the first days of January. As a result, seven persons were killed, five Negroes and two whites. The alleged attack on a white woman by a Negro was the cause of the rioting which lasted four days and ended in the entire destruction by fire of the Negro section of the town.

Other race disturbances and their results were as follows:

	Killed	*Wounded*
California:		
Los Angeles	.....	5 white
Indiana:		
Blanford	3 white	.....
Pennsylvania:		
Braddock	.....	2 white—1 colored
Philadelphia	.....	4 white

MOB VIOLENCE

There have been numerous instances of mob violence during the year. Cases in which the Association has taken action are noted below:

Florida.—Upon learning of the kidnaping and subsequent disappearance of a reputable colored citizen of Miami on the night of June 27, the National Office sent a letter to Governor Cary Hardee asking that an investigation be made and offering the Association's cooperation.

Indiana.—A telegram was sent to Governor Warren T. McCray upon receipt of news that colored citizens of Blanford were being driven from their homes. The Governor was asked to see that colored people were protected in their civil rights. The Governor answered by wire that he was watching the situation closely and wrote, on January 27, that he took immediate action upon receipt of the Association's telegram. He stated that he had "instructed the sheriff and the prosecuting attorney of Vermillion County that full protection must be accorded all law-abiding citizens of that county regardless of color." The colored citizens of Blanford experienced no further trouble.

Oklahoma.—On January 3 the National Office wired Governor J. C. Walton of Oklahoma relative to mob violence threatened against colored citizens of Sapulpa. The Governor replied, "I will do everything in my power to prevent mob violence against our citizens."

In two cities Negroes were ordered to leave, one such order being issued by the Mayor of Johnstown, Pa., the other by a mob in Spruce Pine, N. C.

Johnstown, Pa.—On August 31, according to newspaper reports, a colored man at Rosedale, a suburb of Johnstown, Pa., while crazed with liquor ran amuck and killed a police officer who had attempted to arrest him. In the fighting that followed two policemen were killed and several others wounded before the Negro was killed. No serious disorder followed the incident and Johnstown was undisturbed except for the burning of crosses by the Ku Klux Klan.

A week later Mayor Joseph Cauffiel returned to Johnstown and through the columns of a local newspaper issued an order to all Negroes and Mexicans who had not been residents of the town for at least seven years to leave at once. When news of the order reached New York the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wired Governor Pinchot and Mayor Cauffiel and sent an investigator to Johnstown. The telegram to Governor Pinchot read:

"Today's New York newspapers report that because of the killing of two policemen and the wounding of four others, crimes alleged to have been committed by Negroes of Johnstown, Pa., more than two thousand Negroes have left Johnstown because of order issued by Mayor Joseph Cauffiel that only Negroes resident in city for seven years would be allowed to remain. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with four hundred and fifty branches and membership of one hundred thousand composed of members of both races herewith registers its protest against this high-handed injustice through such wholesale deportation by the mayor of Johnstown of men regardless of innocence or guilt solely because their skins are black. It is so obvious as to make it a superfluous statement that the only action which should have been taken by the mayor and other authorities of Johnstown would have been to seek out and punish those guilty. This Association respectfully requests you to use all authority vested in your high office to correct this grievous injustice if the facts stated above are found to be true and to protect the colored citizens of Johnstown against the Ku Klux Klan methods of Mayor Cauffiel."

On September 18th a reply from Governor Pinchot was received as follows:

"Your telegram received. On return to Milford wired Mayor Cauffiel asking him for full statement of facts and reason for action taken. The whole power of this commonwealth will be used, if necessary, to maintain constitutional rights."

Nation-wide publicity was given to the Johnstown case, particularly to Governor Pinchot's promise to protect the civil rights of Negro citizens..

Mayor Cauffiel on receipt of the telegram from the N. A. A. C. P. in an interview given to the press declared:

"They tell me that I am going to get in trouble. I don't care what they say. For the safety of them and of the city of Johnstown they are going out of the city. If the rest of them don't get out soon I will arm

police and send them . . . to walk the Negroes out of town at the point of a gun."

Upon receipt of Governor Pinchot's telegram Mayor Cauffiel changed his tone. He explained that his statement to the Negroes to get out of Johnstown was not an order, but that he had only "advised" them to get out.

On Wednesday, September 19, primary elections were held in Johnstown. Mayor Cauffiel was a candidate for re-election, but according to New York newspapers which headed the story, "MAYOR'S NEGRO BAN COSTS HIM HIS JOB," he ran fifth in a field of seven candidates. Mayor Cauffiel has therefore been eliminated from public life and the colored citizens of Johnstown have been protected through the action of the N. A. A. C. P.

Spruce Pine, N. C.—Press dispatches of September 28 reported that an armed mob of two hundred whites was rounding up colored people at Spruce Pine, N. C., and deporting them on freight trains. The National Office at once telegraphed Governor Cameron Morrison asking protection for the colored citizens. Governor Morrison replied that he wished to "prevent action of state being prematurely made known to the lawless from whom we seek to protect the state," and therefore failed to report what action he would take. North Carolina newspapers, however, reported that troops were sent to Spruce Pine by the Governor when he learned of the deportation order, and that under their guard many of the Negroes were brought back. It was also reported that a group of men were arrested in and about Spruce Pine and placed under bonds on charges of connection with the forced deportation of Negroes from that county.

Many instances of mob violence in isolated sections that have not been mentioned in the newspapers have been given to the Association through letters from these sections. The facts in some of those letters the Association has made public through the press.

V. DISCRIMINATION

Harvard University.—By far the most important case of discrimination the National Office has taken part in during the year was the refusal of Harvard University to admit the son of Roscoe Conkling Bruce to its freshman dormitories.

For more than a year prior to this the N. A. A. C. P. had cooperated with a committee that had tried to have President Lowell change his policy of excluding colored students from the dormitories. This effort, however, was not made public until it was seen that Mr. Lowell had no intention of changing his position, as indicated in a letter to Mr. Bruce, Sr., in which he said:

> ". . . I am sure you will understand why, from the beginning, we have not thought it possible to compel men of different races to reside together."

One of the leaders of the committee who had been working quietly was Mr. Moorfield Storey. When the petition, which had been drafted by this committee and circulated among Harvard graduates, was made public the National Office gave to the press a letter which had been written to Mr. Lowell. In the letter it was pointed out that Harvard's surrender of its tradition and the tradition of liberal America to Southern sentiment intensified the very problem that President Lowell professed himself to be attempting to meet through the new policy of exclusion. It was contended that Harvard's tradition had afforded to Southern white students the opportunity of learning to know, as human beings, their fellow colored students and had been a potent force in lessening race friction.

The N. A. A. C. P. also aided the New York *World* and other organs of public opinion in their splendid campaigns against President Lowell's action. At the request of the *World* the National Office secured statements by telegraph from prominent colored Harvard graduates, which were used in arousing protest against the proposed policy of exclusion.

In disposing of the matter the Harvard Board of Overseers voted unanimously "that in the administration of rules for admission Harvard College maintain its traditional policy of freedom from discrimination on grounds of race or religion."

VI. NEGRO VETERANS' HOSPITAL AT TUSKEGEE

HISTORY

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opposed the location of a segregated government hospital for Negro veterans on southern ground, because of the inevitable prejudice against colored soldiers. In 1921 the Board of Directors passed a resolution opposing both the segregated hospital and its location in the South.

Nevertheless, the government proceeded with its plan and, failing, because of protests from southern whites, to obtain any other site, approached the officials of Tuskegee Institute and asked their permission for a hospital to be built at Tuskegee, Alabama. Tuskegee Institute gave three hundred acres to the government for the purpose, the Association is informed, forty acres additional were purchased by the government from a white woman, and local whites gave a small parcel of land. Dr. Robert R. Moton, head of Tuskegee, was assured verbally that he would be consulted about the personnel to man the hospital. Despite this assurance, a Major McKenzie, who had been sent there, promised the white people of the town that the hospital would be staffed with white people entirely. Colonel Robert H. Stanley, a southern white from Alabama, was in command of the hospital, it is reported, two days before Dr. Moton knew of his presence.

N. A. A. C. P. ASKED TO HELP

On March 21, 1923, Dr. Moton wrote to the Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. enclosing a copy of a letter that had been sent on February 14 to President Harding. In the letter to President Harding Dr. Moton, after reciting the history of the location of the hospital asked the President that at least six of the 30 or 40 physicians and 50 of the 60 or 70 nurses be colored.

In his letter to the Association's Secretary, Dr. Moton said:

> "I mean to see this matter through in a way that will be satisfactory to us or else I shall have to go before the country and put the blame upon the Republican Party and the Harding Administration.
>
> "If I find that I shall need your help and the help of the N. A. A. C. P.

I shall not hesitate to call upon you, and I know that you will be glad to help."

The N. A. A. C. P. at once assured Tuskegee's principal of its willingness to give assistance in the Tuskegee Hospital situation, if called upon. That call to the N. A. A. C. P. for assistance came in a letter of April 2, 1923, from Albon L. Holsey, Secretary to the Principal of Tuskegee, in which he set forth that a serious situation had developed. So bitter was the feeling of the whites that the staff of guards on Tuskegee Institute grounds had been doubled and extra guards had been placed at Dr. Moton's home.

THE N. A. A. C. P. ACTS

When the issue was put before President Harding, he replied, through his secretary, in a letter dated April 28, 1923:

> "Your communication of April 19 has been submitted to the President and he directs me to make reply and say that the task of selecting and completing the colored staff for the management and administration of Tuskegee Hospital is well under way. It is the plan of the Director of the Veterans' Bureau, with the approval of the President, to man this institution completely with a colored personnel. It is not an easy matter to perfect such an organization under the limitations of the Civil Service, but the program is being worked out in a most encouraging and gratifying way. The Tuskegee experiment is going to afford the trained representatives of the colored race [opportunity] to give proof of their capacity and efficiency in a highly important public service."

Meanwhile, the agitation of Alabama whites for a white personnel embraced even nurses. White persons being forbidden by Alabama law to nurse colored patients, the law was to be evaded by appointment of white nurses at salaries of from $1,680 to $2,500, each with a colored nurse-maid assigned to her to do the work at a wage of $60 a month. The agitation culminated in a parade of the Ku Klux Klan about Tuskegee grounds on July 3.

On July 5, following the Ku Klux Klan parade, when mob violence seemed imminent, the N. A. A. C. P. telegraphed President Harding as follows:

> National Association for the Advancement of Colored People representing 100,000 American citizens asks that Federal troops be sent to Tuskegee, Alabama, to protect colored doctors sent to United States Veterans' Hospital to care for Negro World War Veterans. Lives of these United States doctors and security of Tuskegee Institute have been threatened by masked mobs. Tuskegee Institute as internationally known

agency making for interracial good will should have protection against lawless defiance of government. We urge especially Federal protection for R. R. Moton, successor to Booker T. Washington, whose life has been threatened.

It should be noted that a number of white editors, even in Alabama, condemned the Ku Klux Klan parade with the threat of violence to force the government's hand.

The Assistant Secretary went twice to Washington presenting to the Department of Justice evidence of lawlessness on the part of certain individuals and masked bodies. Together with Mr. Shelby J. Davidson, Executive Secretary of the District of Columbia Branch, the Assistant Secretary procured a memorandum from Mr. Crim, acting United States Attorney General, authorizing the Bureau of Investigation to investigate. On his second visit to Washington the Assistant Secretary, with Dr. M. O. Dumas, acting for the National Medical Association, and Mr. James A. Cobb, attorney in Washington for the N. A. A. C. P., obtained an interview at the Veterans' Bureau for two of the colored nurses, enabling them to place facts concerning their dismissal and other facts before the Bureau.

On July 24 the N. A. A. C. P. asked the removal of Colonel Stanley from command of the Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital, based on information filed in the Veterans' Bureau, "establishing conclusively the failure of Colonel Stanley as commander of the Hospital to protect Negro subordinates against mob threats; and showing that Colonel Stanley tolerated, if he did not actually connive at Ku Klux invasion of the hospital and use of hospital supplies; further, that colored nurses have been summarily discharged without cause." The Association's letter follows:

"Dear Mr. President:

"Unfortunately during your absence, the Tuskegee Hospital situation has reached the stage of a national scandal. We have seen a body of lawless mobbists in the name of the Ku Klux Klan, attempting to defy the United States Government, driving out colored men who had been appointed to work at the Tuskegee Hospital. We have seen the white commander of that hospital, Colonel Robert H. Stanley, failing to protect his colored subordinates who had been threatened with mob violence, and tolerating if not conniving at Ku Klux Klan activity in the Government Hospital under his command.

"Let me recall to you the exact words of a letter written on April 28 to this Association by your Secretary, Mr. Christian, at your direction:

"'Your communication of April 19th has been submitted to the President and he directs me to make reply and say that the task of selecting and completing the colored staff for the management and administration of Tuskegee Hospital is well under way. It is the plan of the Director of the Veterans' Bureau, with the approval of the President, to man this institution completely with a colored personnel.'

"Is it the purpose of the United States Government to change its plan because a few mobbists make threats? Is political pressure in Washington going to retain in office a commanding officer who has shown himself so unfit as has Colonel Stanley? These questions colored people throughout the nation, and white people as well, are now asking. We cannot do otherwise than present them to you, for we have steadily and persistently warned your Administration of the danger in making any concession whatever to the mob sentiment represented by the Ku Klux Klan and by certain white people of Alabama.

"We have already asked Director Hines to remove Colonel Stanley. We ask your approval for this action, preceded of course by a thorough investigation and substantiation of the charges against this officer. We ask furthermore for the exact continuance of the government's plan, that is, a complete colored staff of qualified physicians and nurses, from the commanding officer down, and, if necessary, United States troops in Alabama to see that they are not interfered with in the work to which their government has called them.

(Signed) "JAMES WELDON JOHNSON,
"Secretary,

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

The campaign of the N. A. A. C. P., together with the work of the National Medical Association and the splendid cooperation of the colored newspapers, had virtually won the fight for a colored personnel at Tuskegee Hospital. Final victory, however, was lost when the authorities at Washington became convinced that the heads of Tuskegee Institute would be content with a mixed staff. The fight, nevertheless, was productive of results in that a much larger representation of colored physicians and nurses was secured than was asked for by Tuskegee Institute at the beginning of the fight.*

*At the time of this report's going to press, the N. A. A. C. P. is informed that there are about 14 colored physicians at the hospital and 37 colored nurses.

VII. THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Association has continued during the year its activities opposing the Ku Klux Klan.

New York:

Walker (Anti-Klan) Bill.—Senator James A. Walker introduced in the New York Legislature a bill designed to compel membership corporations, and particularly the Ku Klux Klan, to file lists of their members with the Secretary of State. On March 23 a hearing on the Bill was held and the Association was represented by its Director of Publicity, Herbert J. Seligmann, who urged enactment of the Bill. The appearance of the Association's representative was given wide publicity in the daily newspapers. On April 24, by a vote of 46 to 4, the Bill passed the New York State Senate; it passed the Assembly on May 4; and was signed by Governor Alfred E. Smith on May 23.

Besides the list of its membership the Klan must also file with the Secretary of State its constitution and oaths. The law furthermore prohibits the circulation of anonymous letters or unsigned printed or written matter.

Colorado.—The N. A. A. C. P. prevented a public meeting of the Ku Klux Klan scheduled to be held in the City Auditorium of Denver. Mayor Stapleton granted a permit for the meeting but the Commissioner of Public Safety, after he had been called upon by a delegation from the Association's Denver Branch, ordered the meeting called off. The interest of Governor William E. Sweet of Colorado was enlisted and he telegraphed Mayor Stapleton in strong denunciation of the Klan, stating, "The Ku Klux Klan is neither needed nor wanted in Colorado."

The Association lost no opportunity to call to the attention of the press of the country, by letter and otherwise, the nature of the Klan's activities. It has been felt that the most effective weapon against the Klan is publicity, and this weapon has been used unremittingly.

VIII. PUBLICITY

The number of press stories sent out in 1923 was an increase by more than one-fifth over the number sent out in 1922. The figures are: for 1923, total releases, 339; for 1922, total releases, 276.

Leading subjects in 1923: Lynching and the Dyer Bill, 50 releases; Ku Klux Klan, 24; Houston Riot Cases, 25; Kansas City Conference (exclusive of interviews and special stories written by the Director of Publicity in Kansas City), 19; Migration. 13; Tuskegee Hospital, 12; Arkansas Cases, 10.

It is impossible to convey in statistical form the effect of the Association's publicity in the press. A few facts, however, may give some idea of it. In response to one letter sent to the editors of white newspapers, on the Houston Riot cases, replies were received in the National Office from the following cities: New York City, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Newark, St. Louis, Valley Mills, Texas; Exmore, Va.; Plainfield, N. J.; Killarney, W. Va.; West Copake, N. Y.; Browntown, Minn.; Warroad, Minn.; Bristol, Tenn.; and Yolyn, W. Va.

Editorial reference to the Association's work, brought about by our press releases and publications, has been increasingly frequent and cordial. Thus, our letters to the editor, or editorial references to the Association, were brought to our attention during the year in the following publications, and probably appeared in many besides those named: *Collier's Weekly*, *The Freeman*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *Milwaukee Leader*, *Detroit Free Press*, New York *Globe*, St. Louis *Dispatch*, Philadelphia *Ledger*, Des Moines *Register*, Camden *Post-Telegram*, San Francisco *Call*, New Haven *Times-Leader*, Topeka *Daily Capital*, New York *Times*, New York *World*, New York *Tribune*, Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Indianapolis *News*, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Houston (Texas) *Chronicle*. Boston *Herald*, *El Nuevo Diario* of Caracas, Venezuela, New York *Evening Post*, Newark *News*, Philadelphia *American* and the New York *Sun*. This, it must be remembered, is only a very partial list.

In addition, the *Literary Digest* of July 28 devoted a full page to lynching as a cause of the migration and used N. A. A. C. P. lynching figures, giving the Association full credit for them. Also, a publication of the Federal Council of Churches, announcing Race

Relations Sunday, refers to the 1923 report of the Association and to the lynching map published by the Association. The nature of the reference to the N. A. A. C. P. in *Collier's Weekly* is significant. In reply to a correspondent inquiring about lynching, *Collier's* said:

> "By addressing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Shores can get all the records and concrete evidence he wants, and he will find them conclusive."

With few exceptions, the colored press has cooperated magnificently with the N. A. A. C.P. Some colored newspapers have carried as many as 9, 10, and in a few cases as many as 12 and 13 of our stories in one week. Many of them published the petition for the release of the men of the Twenty-fourth Infantry which had been sent out in mat form. The report compiled by the Director of Publicity and sent out as a release, giving statistical information on the educational discrimination against colored children in the southern states, was published on the first page of colored newspapers in localities as widely separated as Buffalo, New York, and Arkansas. The editor of one colored newspaper wrote to the N. A. A. C. P. offering the use of his columns, and another colored editor agreed to give one-half of each new $2.00 subscription to his paper to the N. A. A. C. P.

The result of the cooperation between the colored press and the N. A. A. C. P. is a marked increase in the power of colored Americans as a group, to make their demands felt through legislation and other channels. Some of the Association's staunchest support comes from colored newspapers in the heart of the South.

Among the colored newspapers regularly received at the National Office and entitled to mention for their use of N. A. A. C. P. stories are: Rome, Ga., *Enterprise; The Echo*, Augusta, Ga.; *Supreme Circle News*, Albany, Ga.; *Michigan State News*, Grand Rapids; Cleveland *Call; Black Dispatch*, Oklahoma City; *New Age*, Hopkinsville, Ky.; *Southern Register*, Jackson, Miss.; *Hotel Tattler*, New York; *Shining Star*, Anderson, Ind.; Indianapolis *Ledger, Freeman, Recorder; Afro-American Presbyterian*, Charlotte, N. C.; St. Louis *Argus; New Idea*, New Haven, Conn.; Charlottesville, Va., *Messenger;* Richmond *Planet; St. Luke Herald*, Richmond, Va.; Memphis *Western World Reporter; Colorado Statesman*, Denver; Chicago *Whip, Defender, Half-Century Magazine*; *Evanston Weekly; National Notes*, Kansas City; Wichita, *Protest;* Topeka *Plain Dealer;* Bessemer, Ala., *Enterprise; The Echo*, Red Bank,

N. J.; *The Signal*, Jersey City; New York *Amsterdam News;* Boston *Chronicle;* Buffalo *American;* Washington *Sentinel;* Texas *Freeman*, Houston; Dallas *Express; Negro Herald*, Rice's Landing, Pa.; *California Voice*, Oakland; Baltimore *Afro-American; Northwestern Bulletin-Appeal*, St. Paul, Minn.; Pittsburgh *Courier;* Philadelphia *Public Journal;* New Orleans *New Standard Magazine.*

Many other colored newspapers publish occasional N. A. A. C. P. releases and still others publish them regularly but do not send copies to the National Office.

The effort of the Publicity Department has been to make the N. A. A. C. P. known as a source of accurate and reliable fact, and from the editorial references as well as from the frequency with which our stories have been carried throughout the country by the Associated Press and other services, that effort may be judged to have been successful. A number of interviews were sought by newspapers and press services, one interview with the Secretary being sent by the N. E. A. Service (supplying the Scripps newspapers throughout the country).

The foreign contact of the N. A. A. C. P. was shown in a book of Frank L. Schoell, "La question des noirs aux Etats-Unis," in which Mr. Schoell not only quotes frequently from N. A. A. C. P. publications but also calls the N. A. A. C. P. a chief source of reliable information on the subject. Also letters of inquiry were received from Germany, Jugo-Slavia, besides the release published in Venezuela. One interesting response to the Association's publicity came in the form of a letter from the Mayor of Covington, Kentucky, requesting a dozen copies of the N. A. A. C. P. reprint of an editorial from the Houston Texas, *Chronicle*, entitled "The Silence of Goose Creek." Editorials in both white and colored newspapers when commenting on our work were reprinted and sent out, and this form of Publicity obtained very gratifying results.

In several cases the N. A. A. C. P. was prominently mentioned during the year on the first or second page of metropolitan newspapers. This occurred as a consequence of the protest to Governor Pinchot against the Johnstown, Pa., deportations and the demand for federal protection of Tuskegee against threatened mob violence.

At the time Mr. Moorfield Storey argued the Arkansas Cases before the Supreme Court, the Director of Publicity went to Washington and released there a summary of the brief. This was distributed by news services throughout the United States. The

Director of Publicity also, later, obtained a correction from the Associated Press of a story emanating from Arkansas which had misstated facts in connection with the riots of 1919.

By obtaining from Theodore Roosevelt a repudiation of political support proffered by the Ku Klux Klan, a story prominently featured in New York and other newspapers, the N. A. A. C. P. was able to make the Klan's political activity an issue in New York State.

A partial indication of the success of the publicity at the Kansas City Conference was contained in a news release stating that the N. A. A. C. P. had clipped from white newspapers 35 feet and from colored newspapers 66 feet of news reference to the Conference and its activities.

A few among the many newspapers throughout the United States which mentioned the N. A. A. C. P. by name, in commenting on the lynching statistics given out at the end of the year, include: the Springfield, Mass., *News;* Rochester, N. Y., *Herald;* Rochester *Times-Union;* Philadelphia *Public Ledger;* New York *Evening Post;* Elmira, N. Y., *Star-Gazette;* Indianapolis *News;* Providence *Journal;* New Haven *Times-Leader;* Springfield, Mass., *Republican;* Williamsport, Pa., *Sun; The Nation;* Hartford *Times;* Philadelphia *Bulletin.*

The concluding achievement of the year was an article on lynching by the Secretary which was published in the *Current History Magazine* for January, 1924. That issue of the magazine was advertised as being printed in an edition of 100,000.

IX. THE TWENTY-FOURTH INFANTRY*

On September 1st, 558 delegates to the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P., meeting in Kansas City, Kansas, made a pilgrimage to Leavenworth to visit the ex-members of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry who had been confined there since the Houston riots of 1917.

There were then in prison 38 men sentenced to life imprisonment, 15 sentenced to terms of 20 years, and 1 serving an eighteen-year sentence—a total of fifty-four.

The men created a profound impression upon the delegates of the N. A. A. C. P. The latter left the prison with a determination to renew and carry to a successful conclusion the fight to free them. It was decided that the movement should not be made exclusively an N. A. A. C. P. one. The Association would bear the brunt of work and expense as far as it was able, but felt that in so righteous a cause every organization and individual, colored or white, religious or secular, should be glad to join. Letters were sent to all the colored newspapers, and many of the white, throughout the country setting forth the facts and asking cooperation. The response was immediate. Without hesitation complete cooperation was offered by nearly all the colored newspapers. The same response was received from churches, lodges and fraternal organizations, civic bodies and clubs, branches of the N. A. A. C. P., and other movements. Almost unanimously the suggestion of the N. A. A.

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*In 1917, immediately following the Houston Riot, the N. A. A. C. P. sent an investigator to the scene who reported to the Board of Directors and whose findings were published in *The Crisis* for November, 1917. The N. A. A. C. P. also employed a local white attorney to defend the men. On December 11, 1917, thirteen members of the 24th Infantry were summarily executed. Later sixteen others were condemned to die. Thereupon, the Association gathered 12,000 signatures to a petition which was presented to President Wilson on February 19, 1918, protesting against further executions without review by the President. Following the presentation of this petition, on September 3, President Wilson, after review, commuted ten death sentences, and affirmed six, the six men being subsequently executed. In 1921, the Association gathered 50,000 signatures to a petition which was presented to President Harding, asking for pardon for the colored soldiers still in prison. As a consequence, several life sentences were reduced to terms of fifteen years, making five of the men eligible for release.

C. P. was adopted that Sunday, November 11, be set aside as Houston Martyrs' Day, with special church services and public mass meetings.

A model petition was drafted which read:

To the President of the United States:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, do respectfully petition that by exercise of the power of Executive Clemency you pardon and restore to citizenship the members of the 24th U. S. Infantry now serving life and long-term sentences in the Federal Prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, convicted in connection with the riots at Houston, Texas, in August, 1917.

We so petition because of

1. The excellent previous record for discipline, service and soldierly conduct of the 24th Infantry.

2. The provocation of local animosity against these men because of their race and color which was manifested in insults, threats and acts of violence against these colored soldiers wearing the uniform of the United States Army and waiting to be sent to France to fight.

3. The heavy punishment meted out to members of the 24th Infantry, of whom nineteen were hanged, thirteen of them summarily and without right of appeal to the Secretary of War or to the President, their Commander-in-Chief. Fifty-four of them remain in prison, having already served nearly six years.

4. The exemplary conduct of the men as prisoners.

Papier maché mats were made of the above petition with the following instructions:

Any church, lodge or other fraternal organization, woman's club, civic or other club which wishes to aid in gathering signatures to the petition has full permission to print copies of the form here given and have them signed by its members.. That all petitions may be uniform we urge you take this form to your printer as a model and have them printed on sheets 8½ by 14 inches, in size, *leaving out, of course, these instructions.*

When filled by bona fide signatures mail petitions to the N. A. A. C. P., 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, where they will be arranged by states and in uniform lots, and all other necessary clerical work done that the pleas for pardon may make the most impressive showing when presented to President Coolidge.

This should be done *promptly.* Remember, every signature will be one more aid towards freeing these men who for six years have been unjustly imprisoned. Do your part towards restoring them to their loved ones and to freedom.

Individuals may help by clipping the above form, signing it with nineteen others and mailing it to the N. A. A. C. P.

Newspapers in all parts of the country used these mats week after week backing them up with extraordinarily well-written

editorials. Large numbers of individuals clipped these, secured nineteen other signatures and mailed them to the National Office.

Before the end of the campaign more than the 100,000 signatures asked for were in the hands of the N. A. A. C. P., giving evidence of an overwhelming sentiment which it was hoped would bring executive clemency from President Coolidge. Warden Biddle of the Leavenworth Prison publicly declared that "these men are neither criminals nor murderers. I know them;" and further, that "they are deserving of every effort that may be put forth to effect their release."

The petition will be presented to the President by a representative delegation early in 1924.*

On December 20 the Secretary went to see President Coolidge and recited to him the history of the cases, beginning with the Houston riots of 1917, and told the President of the petition being circulated, which the President expressed his willingness to receive.

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* Prior to publication of this report and subsequent to Jan. 1, 1924, the petition signed by 124,454 persons was presented to President Coolidge. On Feb. 7, the President received at the White House a delegation consisting of the following persons: James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spokesman; S. S. Booker of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity; a representative of Rev. L. K. Williams of the National Baptist Convention; Nahum D. Brascher of the Associated Negro Press; A. Philip Randolph, editor of "The Messenger," representing the Friends of Negro Freedom; Archibald H. Grimké, Spingarn medallist; Mrs. Gabrielle Pelham of the National Race Congress; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of the National Association of Colored Women; J. E. Mitchell, editor St. Louis *Argus*; Robert S. Abbott, editor Chicago *Defender*; Bishop J. S. Caldwell of A. M. E. Z. Church, Channing H. Tobias of the Y. M. C. A.; Robert L. Vann, editor Pittsburgh *Courier*; Carl Murphy, editor Baltimore *Afro-American*; Cyril V. Briggs, head of *Crusader* news service and representing the African Blood Brotherhood. Bishops John Hurst of the A. M. E. Church and Isaac Lane of the C. M. E. Church, who could not be present, authorized the use of their names and those of their churches, as did B. J. Davis, editor the Atlanta *Independent*. Attached to the petition were the names of a committee of 50 cooperating organizations and individuals, represented by the delegation to the White House.

The National Equal Rights League, William Monroe Trotter secretary, was represented by its own delegation of four, endorsing the petition gathered and presented under the auspices of the N. A. A. C. P.

X. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Association's Fourteenth Annual Conference was held at Kansas City, Kansas, August 29–September 4. This was, throughout, the most successful conference ever held. At the opening mass meeting the following letter of greeting from President Coolidge was read:

August 18, 1923.

"My dear Mr. White:

"Thank you for drawing my attention to the approaching Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I have long regarded this gathering as representative of one of the most useful and effective efforts in behalf of the colored people of the country, and sincerely trust that its sessions this year may be as productive of beneficial results as they have been in the past.

"Most sincerely yours,
(Signed) CALVIN COOLIDGE."

The speakers included Hon. W. W. Gordon, Mayor of Kansas City, Kansas; Hon. J. L. Brady, County Counselor of Wyandotte County, Kansas; Bishop W. T. Vernon of the A. M. E. Church; Mr. Lester A. Walton, Special Staff Correspondent of the New York *World;* Mrs. Thomas W. Bickett of North Carolina; Mr. T. A. McNeal, Editor of the Kansas *Farmer and Mail and Breeze;* Hon. L. C. Dyer; Dr. W. G. Alexander of Newark, N. J., Miss Mary E. McDowell, Commissioner of Public Welfare of Chicago; and officers of the N. A. A. C. P. Among the subjects discussed were: "The Migration as a Factor in Solving the Race Problem," "Ways to Inter-racial Peace," "Fighting the Mob," "The Arkansas Cases," "The Negro and Public Health—Meeting the Menace of Segregation in the North."

The Spingarn Medal Award was made at the last session of the Conference. The award was made to Professor George W. Carver "in consideration of his services in agricultural chemistry, his recent recognition by a British Royal Society, and for lectures on agriculture during the last year before white and colored audiences, particularly in the South, where his clear thought and straightfoward attitude have greatly increased inter-racial knowledge and respect."

The committee making the award consisted of Bishop John Hurst, chairman; Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *The Nation;* Dorothy Canfield Fisher, novelist, author of "The Bent Twig,"

"The Brimming Cup," etc.; James H. Dillard, Director of the Jeanes and Slater Funds; Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; and W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of *The Crisis.*

The Conference unanimously adopted the following

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Fourteenth Annual Conference assembled, reaffirms the principles for which it has always stood and most solemnly pledges itself to use all of the means at its command to the furtherance of the task which it has undertaken until that task is done.

It sends greetings to the eleven million of American colored people in whose behalf it is working and the one hundred thousand members, both white and colored, it represents.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People feels gratified over the measure of awakening of the public conscience as touching the evils it is combating affecting the colored people. It is a fact that the indifference and lethargy with which these evils were treated in the past are breaking away. Agencies have been put in operation in various sections of the country to remedy if not to uproot some of these evils since the Association has been holding them up to the public gaze and demanding that they be done away with.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, speaking directly for its membership of one hundred thousand and feeling that it represents the sentiments of twelve million colored people of the United States, calls the attention of the American people to the following truths:

1. That the destinies of the Negro and white races of the American continent are inseparable; that the races must, therefore, in the fullest sense work together for the realization of the principles on which the American nation was founded.

2. That spurious science and mendacious propaganda alleging racial inferiority are treason to the brotherhood of man without which no nation can endure.

3. That unless the humblest citizen is guaranteed his citizenship rights there can be no true security for anyone in the land.

4. That the mob and the spirit of intolerance which the mob represents are a danger to all achievements of mankind represented in all organized society.

We therefore urge upon the American people that they take the first indispensable step toward combating the mob and the shame and the disgrace which the mob has for thirty-five years put upon the name of America.

We ask the American people to insist upon the enactment of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill which would place punishment of the mob in the hands of the Federal Government when the states refuse or are unable to do their duty as they have refused and have been unable for thirty-five years.

We ask the President and the Congress of the United States that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution be made something more than a scrap of paper, and that the Negro universally deprived

of the vote in the Southern States be granted the ballot upon the same condition and with the same qualifications as those imposed upon all other citizens and thus remove the injustice of taxation without representation.

We ask that the troops of the United States be withdrawn from the black republic of Haiti, illegally seized in 1916 and since then lawlessly held by virtue of superior force.

We ask that the President of the United States, representing the spirit of fairness in the American people, redeem the pledges made by the late and regretted President Harding that the Tuskegee Hospital built for colored World War veterans, upon ground given to the nation by Tuskegee Institute, be manned entirely by a colored personnel.

We ask that the American people demand the release of the fifty-four members of the Twenty-fourth Infantry now incarcerated at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary for their connection with the Houston, Texas, riot of 1917, a riot provoked by continued insults and contumely and finally by violence perpetrated upon colored men wearing the uniform of the United States and dedicated to the service of their country in war time.

This message was supplemented by a

MESSAGE TO COLORED AMERICANS

To American citizens of African descent we have a special word to say:

The time has come when allegiance to any party on historical grounds is no longer required or expedient. We urge them to a new political emancipation. We urge them to promulgate their demands upon the basis of the welfare of the entire race and in casting their votes in the coming election to hold that welfare paramount to allegiance to any political party.

We urge every man and woman of color in the United States to realize that this is an age in which power can be exerted only through organized effort, and that the most effective instrument that we have now for exerting this power is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We therefore appeal to all persons in favor of common justice and equal opportunity to unite with us and join this organization. It is not necessary to recapitulate the achievements of this body and it would be impossible in any brief document to do so. For the sake, however, of recalling to colored Americans and to United States citizens generally what we stand for, we desire to reiterate our insistence upon the following program:

1. Complete and full citizenship rights for the American Negro in the exercise of the ballot, before the law, in the courts, in the protection and sanctity of life and property rights, in the use and in the accommodations of public conveyances and in places of public resort, whether railroads, street cars, restaurants or places of amusement.

2. Respect for the colored American citizen as an individual in accordance with his achievements and his merit, and respect for the race in view of its progress of half a century unparalled anywhere in the world at any time.

We denounce the use of the word Negro in connection with crime in newspaper headlines giving the malignantly false impression that the Negro is more

prone to commit crime than any other race and especially the lie that the Negro is by nature a rapist.

We make this appeal to the people of the United States in the interest of our beloved country, realizing as all good citizens will realize that race hatred and prejudice founded upon ignorance and oppression are dangerous to every citizen, white and black, and that it is the duty of every citizen to cooperate with us in holding that true Americanism consists in tolerance, respect and a determination to uphold the human as well as the citizenship rights of every man and woman of whatever race or creed.

The Kansas City Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. was in every way one of the most successful ever held. Every meeting was largely attended, and the Sunday mass meeting in Convention Hall of Kansas City, Missouri, with an attendance estimated at 12,000, was perhaps the largest gathering of Negroes in behalf of civil rights ever held on American soil.

Although the day business meetings and most of the night meetings were held in Kansas City, Kansas, a monster mass meeting and one night meeting were held in Kansas City, Missouri. Citizens of both Kansas City, Missouri. and Kansas City, Kansas, showed the greatest enthusiasm both in the arrangements they made for the Conference and the comfort of delegates and visitors, and in their own large attendance throughout.

XI. NATIONAL MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE BILL

On January 23 Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas introduced in the United States Senate a bill "to provide for uniform regulation of marriage and divorce." The same bill was introduced in the House by Congressman Louis Fairfield of Indiana. Among other things the bill was designed to prohibit the marriage of epileptics, insane or feeble-minded persons, those afflicted with communicable diseases, and blacks and whites.

Upon receiving news of the introduction of the measure, the National Office telegraphed Senator Capper protesting against the provision of the bill relating to the marriage of blacks and whites. Senator Capper telephoned from Washington his assurance that the clause prohibiting the intermarriage of colored and white people would not be included in the bill when it was reported out of committee, where it would remain at least a year.

In a conference with Senator Capper later, in Washington, the Secretary learned that the Senator had been requested by a group of women's organizations to introduce the measure and that he had done so without giving the entire text of the bill careful study.

XII. THE STERLING-REED "EDUCATION" BILL

Mrs. Florence Kelley, of the N. A. A. C. P. Board of Directors, has made a study of the Education Bill (formerly the Sterling-Towner Bill) providing for the creation of a federal Department of Education, for the expenditure of $100,000,000 annually to abolish illiteracy, and to improve education of public school teachers.

Mrs. Kelley called to the attention of the N. A. A. C. P. the dangers of this proposed legislation: 1. That the head of the proposed Department of Education would have no control over the expenditure of federal funds allotted to the states; 2. that state and local authorities were expressly authorized to spend these funds "in accordance with the laws of the state" and "in like manner as the funds provided by state and local authorities for the same purposes; and those authorities shall determine the courses of study, plans and methods for carrying out the purposes of the Section within the state."

The bill in its present form would, therefore, legalize the present discrimination against colored children in the South, and would back up that discrimination with a federal law and $100,000,000 a year. It is too well known to need re-statement here, that in many southern states, the home of the greatest illiteracy among Negroes, ten dollars is spent on the education of every white child to one or two dollars for every colored child.

On December 4 the Secretary attended a meeting of representatives of the Teachers' Union, the American Federation of Labor, the Women's Trade Union League and other bodies, to confer on the bill. Sentiment on it in the conference was divided. The Secretary insisted the bill would have to be amended to insure colored people of the South against discrimination, before the N. A. A. C. P. would support it.

The Secretary gains the impression, from talks in Washington, that there is small probability that the bill will pass in the present session of Congress. Nevertheless, he feels the Association should express itself in favor of federal aid to rural and public school education but against any measure which would perpetuate or allow discrimination against colored children in the expenditure of funds.

XIII. NATIONAL OFFICES

On July 1 the offices of the N. A. A. C. P., together with *The Crisis*, were removed to 69 Fifth Avenue, corner of Fourteenth Street, where they now occupy the whole of the fourth floor of a large and light building.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

One of the greatest blows the Association has had came in the death on October 15, of Mrs. Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo, New York, member of the Board of Directors and one of the Association's Vice-Presidents. During her membership on the Board Mrs. Talbert rendered valuable service to the Association. It was she who, in 1917, organized the Texas branches, and she will always be remembered for her work at the head of the Anti-Lynching Crusaders, who turned over to the treasury of the N. A. A. C. P. more than $13,000 in 1922.

At the December meeting of the Board of Directors Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, Secretary-Treasurer of the Independent Order of St. Luke, was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Mrs. Talbert.

XIV. THE DEPARTMENT OF BRANCHES

Fifty-four thousand nine hundred and forty-seven members have been added to the Association during the past year and 25 branches have been organized in the following places:

Alabama:
- Selma (Selma University College Chapter).

California:
- Needles.
- San Francisco.
- Weed.

Delaware:
- Dover.

Illinois:
- Champaign.
- Danville.
- Glencoe.
- Paris.

Indiana:
- Richmond.
- Terre Haute.

Kansas:
- Arkansas City.
- Fort Scott.
- Salina.

Michigan:
- Battle Creek.

Missouri:
- Jefferson City.

New Jersey:
- Summit.

New York:
- Harlem (New York City) College Chapter.

Ohio:
- Barberton.
- Cleveland College Chapter.

Oklahoma:
- Tulsa.

Pennsylvania:
- Hollidaysburg.
- Lancaster.

South Dakota:
- Yankton.

West Virginia:
- Mingo County.

The Association now numbers 455 branches in forty-five states. A number of our branches, however, are inactive, especially in the South, where intimidation has been invoked as a weapon against branch activities.

There have been organized also a number of Junior divisions.

FIELD WORK

During the year the National Officers paid 239 visits to the branches, addressing a total of 635 meetings. They covered thirty-two states, as follows: Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin; and travelled a distance of 74,378 miles.

In addition to the field work of the staff, Hon. Leonidas C. Dyer, Congressman from Missouri and author of the Anti-Lynching Bill, made a number of tours to branches of the Association arranged for by the National Office. Among the cities visited by him were Providence, R. I.; Springfield, Mass.; Buffalo, New York; New York City; Philadelphia, Pa.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Boston, Mass.; New Haven, Conn.; and Princeton, N. J.

As heretofore the National staff has addressed a multitude of meetings of various organizations, disseminating propaganda of the Association.

WORK OF THE BRANCHES

Branches throughout the country have been active in their efforts to see that the rights of colored citizens are not abridged.

Civil Rights:

In *Rhode Island* a civil rights bill requiring equal treatment for all citizens, and backed by the Rhode Island branches, was passed in spite of great opposition.

The *San Diego, Cal.*, branch succeeded in having the State Civil Rights Law amended so that discrimination in places of public accommodation is illegal. The amendment arose out of the fact that the courts of San Diego decided that ice cream parlors were not included in the original Civil Rights Law.

Cases of discrimination under civil rights laws have been fought

successfully in *Chicago, Ill., Des Moines, Ia., New Brunswick, N. J., Reading, Pa.*, and *Urbana, Ohio.*

Separate Schools:

The most successful fight against separate schools was made in *Springfield, Ohio.* The fight lasted more than a year and was conducted jointly by the Springfield Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. and a General Citizens Committee. The separate school which was established in spite of the protest of the colored citizens of Springfield was finally abolished by the court's issuing a permanent injunction against it.

Other attempts at segregated schools were defeated at *Camden* and *Lawnside, N. J.*, by the Camden branch.

Extradition:

The *New Brunswick, N. J.*, Branch began legal action to prevent the return of Silas Parmore to Georgia where he was accused of murder. Evidence was secured establishing reasonable doubt of Parmore's guilt and also showing that threats had been made to burn him at the stake if returned. It showed also that the attempt to get him back to Georgia was for vengeance rather than justice.

Miscellaneous:

Persons being held in virtual peonage were released by the branches at *New Orleans, La., Chicago, Ill.*, and *Jersey City, N. J.*

The *Hartford, Conn.*, branch was instrumental in securing for a colored student admission into the Normal School.

The *Roanoke, Va.*, branch fought successfully a case of assault on a colored woman by the town's tax collector which at first was decided in favor of the collector, the woman being fined five dollars for disorderly conduct. On appeal the decision of the Police Court was reversed and the fine returned.

XV. FINANCES

Treasurer's Report

Year 1923

In our opinion, the appended Balance Sheet and Statement of Income and Expenses correctly state the financial position of the General Department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at December 31, 1923, and the financial operations for the year then ended.

Heaton, Cullinan & Helmus,
Accountants and Auditors.

SUMMARY OF CASH TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEAR

Balance December 31, 1922	$1,563.50
Receipts	73,336.35
	$74,899.85
Disbursements	68,182.44
Balance December 31, 1923	$6,717.41

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Income:		
Contributions (Miscellaneous)		$15,282.85
Membership:		
Branches (including contribution on apportionment)		26,367.12
Members at large		3,953.04
Literature sales		2,004.61
"Liza" benefit performance		612.60
Total income		$48,220.22
Expenses:		
Salaries:		
Administrative	$11,119.92	
Field	8,266.60	
Publicity	2,400.00	
Clerical	14,361.02	
Special Services	125.00	
Printing	3,755.55	
Postage	3,587.50	

Rent of Offices	3,331.32	
Traveling expenses	2,292.89	
Moving expenses	1,808.23	
General expenses	1,745.37	
Telephone	481.52	
Telegrams	406.41	
Meetings	296.24	
Emblems (given to Certificate Members, etc.)	257.35	
Multigraphing	185.68	
Depreciation on furniture	181.10	
Branch Bulletin (net cost)	65.50	
Light	99.44	
Miscellaneous disbursements	38.45	
Appropriations to branches for legal defense	25.00	
Advertising	22.30	
Clippings	15.45	
Total Expenses		$54,867.84
Net Loss for Year		6,647.62

BALANCE SHEET

December 31, 1923

ASSETS:

Cash:		
General Fund and Petty Cash	$218.80	
Anti-Lynching Fund	5,868.37	
Arkansas Defense Fund	243.15	
Defense Fund	120.01	
Building Fund	100.00	
Maclean Memorial Fund	17.08	
On deposit for Harlem Office rent	150.00	
		$6,717.41
Inventories:		
Branch card files	$105.50	
Membership buttons on hand	91.80	
		197.30
Accounts receivable:		
Harlem Office	$65.00	
Advances for traveling expenses	101.61	
		166.61
Furniture and fixtures		3,440.85
		$10,522.17

LIABILITIES:

Special Funds:		
Anti-Lynching Fund	$5,868.37	
Arkansas Defense Fund	243.15	
Defense Fund	120.01	
Building Fund	100.00	
Maclean Memorial Fund	17.08	
		$6,348.61
Notes Payable:		
Am. Fund for Public Service		3,000.00
Accounts Payable:		
Trade	$2,995.19	
The Crisis	289.85	
		3,285.04
		$12,633.65

NET WORTH:

January 1, 1923	$4,536.14	
Net Loss for year as per statement of income and expenses	6,647.62	
December 31, 1923 (Deficit)		2,111.48
		$10,522.17

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUNDS

December 31, 1923

ANTI-LYNCHING FUND:

Receipts for the year 1923		$14,750.49
Disbursements:		
Deficit Dec. 31, 1922 (due General Fund for advance)	$3,260.01	
During year 1923	5,622.11	
		8,882.12
Balance in bank December 31, 1923		$5,868.37

ARKANSAS DEFENSE FUND:

Balance December 31, 1922	$1,072.42
Receipts during year 1923	744.46
	$1,816.88
Disbursements during year 1923	1,573.73
Balance in bank December 31, 1923	$243.15

MACLEAN MEMORIAL FUND:	
Balance December 31, 1922	$74.09
Receipts during year 1923 (interest)	2.99
	$77.08
Disbursements during year 1923	60.00
Balance in bank December 31, 1923	$17.08
DEFENSE FUND:	
Receipts during year and balance in bank December 31, 1923	$120.01
BUILDING FUND:	
Receipts during year and balance in bank December 31, 1923	$100.00
KANSAS CITY CONFERENCE:	
Expenses	$1,668.10
Receipts from branches, etc.	1,621.50
Balance charged to meetings	$46.60

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS, YEAR 1923

Balance in bank December 31, 1922	$1,563.50
Receipts from all sources during 1923	73,336.35
	$74,899.85
Disbursements during 1923—all funds	68,182.44
Balance in banks December 31, 1923	$6,717.41

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEARS 1922 AND 1923

	1922	1923
RECEIPTS:		
General Fund Receipts	$49,769.62	$48,220.22
Special Funds and other accounts	19,779.96	25,116.13
EXPENSES:		
General Fund	$45,622.53	54,867.84
Special Funds and others	24,356.27	13,316.60
Miscellaneous contributions—General	$14,682.31	$15,282.85
Branch memberships and apportionment	29,895.85	26,367.12
Members at large	2,523.05	3,953.04
Salaries, (General and Anti-Lynching)	$32,600.98	$36,272.54
Printing, " " " "	4,275.43	5,292.92
Postage, " " " "	3,905.27	3,668.86
Rent of Offices, " " " "	2,569.96	3,331.32
General Expenses, " " " "	2,082.42	1,745.37
Traveling Expenses " " " "	4,558.29	*2,631.12

*During 1923 branches paid $1,688.89 towards traveling expenses that is not included in amount given above.

XVII. REPORT OF "THE CRISIS" FOR THE YEAR 1923

The net paid circulation of *The Crisis* for the year 1923 was 445,200 copies or an average of 37,100 copies per month.

The total income of *The Crisis* for the year 1923 was $51,665.01 or an average of $4,305.41 per month.

The disbursements for the year 1923 amounted to $51,365.04. That left a cash balance in our bank account at the end of the year of $424.96. There is also a cash deposit with the Post Office of $325. *The Crisis* holds in addition to this cash balance $1,500 in Liberty Bonds.

In addition to our regular and usual expenses (printing, paper, mailing, rent, salaries, postage and stationery) this year brought, of course, the heavy expenses connected with our moving from 70 to 69 Fifth Avenue. We spent about $1,600.00 in moving.

During the year 1923, it is interesting to note the following statistical facts:

I. Agents

The Crisis received in payments from Agents	$24,499.69
It charged against its agents	28,539.71

Its receipts, therefore, from agents were 86% of the total charged against agents during the year.

II. Advertisers

The Crisis received in payments from Advertisers	$11,484.59
It charged against its advertisers	11,209.44

Its receipts, therefore, from Advertisers were 102.4% of the total charged against Advertisers during that period.

III. Subscriptions

The Crisis received in payments for Subscriptions during the year	$13,735.65

IV. Book Business

The Crisis received from sale of Books	$1,251.37
It charged against Book Business during the year	981.54
Gain on Book Business for the year	$269.83

During the year our Editor, Dr. Du Bois, has been active as usual in the lecture field, appearing before many Branches of the National Association and before religious, social and educational institutions and organizations in various parts of the country. As reported in the December and January issues of *The Crisis*, Dr. Du Bois conducted interesting and successful sessions of the Third Pan-African Congress, first in London, England, and then in Lisbon, Portugal. From these conferences he sailed for a visit down the West Coast of Africa, arriving at Monrovia, Liberia, on Christmas Eve. It is interesting to report that Dr. Du Bois' visit to Africa was given official recognition. He was appointed by President Coolidge as his special representative at the inauguration of President King of Liberia, with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

We ask, as always, the continued active support and co-operation of the Branches in our attempts to enlarge the circulation of *The Crisis*. We believe that such co-operation is highly advantageous for the N. A. A. C. P. as well as for the magazine.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1923

In our opinion, the appended Balance Sheet and Statement of Income and Expenses exhibit with substantial correctness the financial position of *The Crisis* at December 31, 1923, and the result of its operations for the year then ended.

HEATON, CULLINAN & HELMUS,
Accountants and Auditors.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1923

INCOME:		
Sales, net of returns	$26,949.69	
Subscriptions	13,735.65	
Advertising	10,906.41	
Discount on purchases	299.77	
Interest on Liberty Bonds	63.75	
Book department profit	269.83	
Total Income		$52,225.10

EXPENSES:

Publishing:			
Paper	$6,016.09		
Printing	9,563.11		
Engraving	1,287.66	$16,866.86	
Salaries:			
Executive	8,600.00		
Bookkeeping, clerical, etc.	11,302.50	19,902.50	
Sundry:			
Postage	3,537.60		
Stationery and supplies	1,419.30		
Rent	1,879.98		
Telephone and telegraph	350.35		
Insurance	25.19		
General expense	2,617.21	9,829.63	
Moving expense		1,557.95	
Depreciation of furniture and fixtures		190.49	
Provision for Doubtful Accounts—Net of recoveries:			
Agents	$2,263.92		
Advertisers	1,415.66	3,679.58	
Total Expenses			$52,027.01
Profit, carried to Balance Sheet			$198.09

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1923

ASSETS:

Cash in bank		$424.96	
Petty Cash		25.00	$449.96
Accounts Receivable:			
Advertisers	$4,748.74		
Less Reserve for doubtful accounts	3,000.00		
		1,748.74	
Agents	9,373.48		
Less Reserve for doubtful accounts	5,000.00		
		4,373.48	
N. A. A. C. P.—General Department		289.85	6,412.07
Liberty Bonds at Par			1,500.00
Inventory:			
Book Inventory		121.05	
Paper		279.52	
Magazines		400.00	800.57
Deferred Charges:			
Printing and Paper, January, 1924 Issue		1,348.90	
Deposit with Post Office		325.00	
Prepaid insurance		16.36	1,690.26
Furniture and fixtures, net of depreciation			3,619.37
Total Assets			$14,472.23

LIABILITIES:		
Accounts Payable, trade		$1,321.24
Special Contribution, "History of Negro in War"		83.25
Reserve for unexpired portion of subscriptions		5,700.00
		$7,104.49
NET WORTH:		
Balance January 1, 1923, as adjusted	$7,169.65	
Profit for the year ended December 31, 1923, as per Statement of Income and Expenses	198.09	
		7,367.74
Total Liabilities and Capital		$14,472.23

N. A. A. C. P.

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15th ANNUAL REPORT

of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

For 1924

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
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Fifteenth Annual Report

OF THE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

FOR THE YEAR 1924

A Summary of Work and an Accounting

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

National Office: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York

January, 1925

The following letter was received at the Office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during the past year:

"I am sending check for $100 from the estate of my sister, Miss Helen S. Norton. She was very much interested in the colored people. At one time she was sent to visit schools for colored people in the South by the Congregational Board of Missions, Boston, Mass. She was a graduate of Mount Holyoke in 1863. She died at Howell, Mich., February 19, 1923.

(Signed) "H. W. Norton.

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," incorporated in the year 1911, under the Laws of the State of New York, the sum of

_____

_____

dollars to be used for the purposes of the said Association.

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*, published monthly

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Dorothy Canfield Fisher
John Hope
Theodore Roosevelt
Oswald Garrison Villard

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FOREWORD

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, herewith submits a record of the tasks undertaken and the results achieved during 1924. It points to that record as self-evident justification for its existence, and as a demonstration of the need for efficiently organized effort to meet grave problems that affect not only the Negro but all America.

There are some generous persons who give for the higher and technical education of the Negro. There are many who give abundantly for the industrial training of colored youth. Both these classes of givers render far-reaching benefits to the Negro and to the nation.

Few there are, however, who realize the vital importance of supporting such work as the N. A. A. C. P. is doing. Increased productivity and earning capacity will not be of maximum value to the Negro so long as he can be robbed with impunity by unscrupulous individuals and exploited through a system of peonage, because he is a Negro.

Nor can Negro homes be secure while there is the danger of wholesale segregation by ordinances or by agreements upheld by the law. When the N. A. A. C. P. fought for more than five years the now famous Arkansas Peonage Cases it attacked one of the most serious handicaps under which the Negro in the South struggles, namely, economic exploitation. When it won a decision from the United States Supreme Court in the Louisville Segregation Case, it made property rights more secure for colored people all over the country.

Nor can there be any adequate warrant for security of property, common justice in the courts, and protection from mobs, to the Negro when he is held voteless.

And so, when the N. A. A. C. P. fights to end disfranchisement, peonage and lynching, injustice in the courts on account of color, it performs the task of clearing the way for other effort by or in behalf of the Negro. It is opening the way to equal opportunity, than which the Negro asks nothing more.

Even greater than these specific tasks is the task of educating public opinion—white and black—and removing the half-truths

and falsehoods which have hindered efforts toward a solution of interracial problems. Because we love America we dare to call attention to her shortcomings that they may be corrected. We shall continue to face the facts and speak the truth to that end.

As Mr. Storey says, "Let it be generally understood that it is not safe to injure a colored man or woman, that lynching is dangerous to the lynchers, that the colored citizens of this country are determined to assert their rights under the constitution and laws, and those rights will be respected and the progress of the race will be more rapid."

Will you not help by supporting this organization which is dedicated to that work?

I. LEGAL DEFENSE

During 1924 there came from all parts of the United States, and in some instances from without the country, appeals for legal aid. In the twelve months ending December 31, these cases reached a total of 476. To each of them, as is always done, the National Office applied two tests: first, does the case involve discrimination and injustice because of race or color? second, will entry into the case serve to establish a precedent that will favorably affect the rights of colored people as a whole? These two tests constitute the general policy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its legal work. The impression that it is a "legal aid" society for the purpose of defending any colored person who gets into the clutches of the law, regardless of the circumstances, is erroneous.

In these 476 cases the N. A. A. C. P. gave as thorough service as was possible with the resources at its command, and took action in a number of the more important ones. Other cases were referred to local branches for investigation and action. In still others, where the Association's funds did not permit financial aid, the National Office, with the cooperation of the Legal Committee, gave legal advice.

In reviewing these cases for this report it is surprising even to the National officers to see how much work has been done on a grievously limited budget for legal defense. It is also a matter of regret that in many of the cases, undoubtedly worthy of assistance, particularly those reported from southern states, the National Office has had to inform those applying for aid that it was unable to help because of lack of funds. The N. A. A. C. P. could spend, economically and in entirely worthy cases, $50,000 a year for legal defense. An admirable effort to raise a fund for this purpose has been made by a group of women headed by Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook of Kansas City, Mo., aided by Mrs. Beatrice Childs of Kansas City, Kans., Mrs. Sadie E. Stockton of New York City, Mrs. W. T. Francis of St. Paul, Mrs. Addie W. Hunton of Brooklyn, Mrs. Louise W. Davis of Cleveland, and others.

The Elias Ridge Case

In 1922 Elias Ridge, a thirteen-year-old colored boy, was accused of killing a Mrs. Wellie Adair, white, wife of George Adair, a farmer, living near Pensacola, Oklahoma. The boy was arrested, hastily tried and sentenced to death by electrocution. Dr. A. Baxter Whitby, then President of the Oklahoma City Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., became interested in the case, raised funds, and secured a lawyer who gave his services to secure a commutation of sentence for Ridge. Mr. R. Dungee, editor of the *Black Dispatch*, through his paper took an active part in raising the defense funds.

An appeal from the decision of the lower court was made on the ground, first, that Ridge was only thirteen years old at the time the crime was committed and according to Oklahoma law, should have been tried in the Juvenile Court; and, second, that the State had made grievous errors in the original trial. Some of these errors were:

1. The District Court erred in sentencing the defendant to death without having a jury determine that the said defendant had criminal capacity and intent.
2. There was error in not preserving a record of the evidence.
3. The Court erred in trying the defendant with such haste.
4. The Court erred in keeping jurisdiction and trying the case when it was so patent on the face of things that the defendant could not be fairly tried in that Court.

It was further pointed out that it was absolutely impossible to have properly investigated the facts determining criminal capacity and intent, first in the juvenile court and then in the magistrate's court, and finally in the District Court, all in an hour and a half. At the trial the counsel appointed to defend Ridge made no objection to the above-named irregularities and it was felt that fear of the mob was responsible for his failure to do so. No witnesses were called for the defendant, he had never been in court before and was ignorant of his rights.

Messrs. W. H. Twine and Carter W. Wesley, lawyers who volunteered their services, appealed to the Criminal Court of Appeals, which court remanded the case for a new trial. Ridge was re-tried and again convicted and re-sentenced to death. The National Office urged the Oklahoma branches to carry the case to the State Supreme Court if necessary. On October 6, 1924, Attorney Twine

argued the case in the Criminal Court of Appeals. As a result the boy's sentence was reduced from death to life imprisonment.

The expenses in this case were $1,000, of which amount the National Office contributed $125. Attorney Charles N. Harmon, white, rendered valuable assistance in the case.

The Luther Collins Case

In January, 1922, Luther Collins was arrested in Houston, Texas, charged with criminal assault upon a white woman. He was hastily tried, and evidence in his favor which would have proved him to be in another part of the city at the time of the alleged attack was not allowed to be given. He was convicted and sentenced to death.

The case was so flagrant that the Houston Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., aided by a few fair-minded white people of the city, began an investigation. A reversal was secured on the excluded testimony and a new trial had which resulted in a hung jury, eight men standing for acquittal and four for a lighter sentence than the death penalty.

On October 29, 1924, Collins was placed on trial again when his death sentence was reduced to ninety-nine years.

The Houston Branch is now carrying the case on appeal to the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, the court of highest jurisdiction in the state. The new hearing will perhaps be had in February, 1925.

The Mamie Pratt Case

Through the efforts of the Baxter Springs, Kansas, Branch, Roy Sullivan, a white taxicab driver, was arrested for assault on Mamie Pratt, a young colored woman. When local authorities failed to take action against Sullivan, the National Office appealed to Attorney General Griffith of Kansas. A vigorous campaign in the case was also carried on by the Cherokee County Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Wichita *Protest*, a local colored newspaper. Attorney General Griffith promised the N. A. A. C. P. that he would take such action in the case as he could, and finally he instructed the County Attorney to prosecute, appointing a competent colored attorney to aid in the prosecution. Final disposition of the case has not yet been reported to the National Office.

Silas Parmore Rendition Case

Silas Parmore was arrested in New Brunswick, N. J., at the request of the Georgia authorities, charged with the murder of the Chief of Police of Iron City, Ga. The New Brunswick Branch appealed to Governor Silzer for a hearing before signing the rendition papers, the National Office furnishing the Branch with data regarding lynchings in the State of Georgia, also regarding similar cases of requests for extradition from southern states, such as the Ray Case, the Matthew Bullock Case, etc. However, Governor Silzer signed the papers on the ground that he could not refrain from doing so, according to law. The Branch took an appeal to the Court of Chancery and here, too, the decision was in favor of the Georgia authorities. A second appeal was taken by the Branch to the Court of Errors.

Despite all efforts in Parmore's behalf, he was taken back to Georgia on April 1. Due to the fight made in this case and the consequent publicity, the governor of Georgia gave his personal assurance for the safety of the prisoner and a fair trial.

Up to March 31, 1924, the New Brunswick Branch had expended on this case $727.31.

The Case of R. S. Lindsay

From time to time the Association has brought to its attention cases in which color discrimination or citizenship rights may not be involved but in which, nevertheless, a word from a great national organization may help materially in bringing about the desired results. Such was the case of Mr. R. S. Lindsay, a young colored man who, in August, 1924, arrived at Ellis Island from the Canal Zone, with the expectation of entering Howard University in September.

On August 27 the National Office received a letter from Dr. D. Butler Pratt, Dean of the School of Religion of Howard University, stating that Mr. Lindsay was being held up for deportation on account of his health. Dr. Pratt stated that he had been in correspondence with Mr. Lindsay for more than a year, and that he was anxious that the Association look into the matter and do whatever was possible to aid Mr. Lindsay.

The National Office took up the matter by correspondence and

on September 6 Mr. Lindsay was admitted into the United States under bond.

Oswald Durant Case

In March Oswald Durant, a senior at Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn., was arrested, charged with criminal assault upon a white girl of that city. Durant comes from one of the most reputable colored families of South Carolina, is a brilliant student and a man of splendid reputation. When he was arrested his good name caused the citizens of Nashville, led by a number of the ministers and the Nashville Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. to investigate the charge against him. This inquiry proved that Durant was obviously innocent of the crime charged against him. Funds were raised and used to employ Jeff McCarn, one of the most able criminal lawyers of Tennessee. Within a few months the colored citizens through the churches, lodges and individuals contributed $1,775 of the $2,000 fee asked by Mr. McCarn.

The penalty for rape in Tennessee is death. Durant was placed on trial and found guilty but *was sentenced to life imprisonment.* An appeal to the state Supreme Court was immediately taken, which appeal is to be heard in February, 1925. It is felt that the court will reverse the decision of the lower court. In the event such action does not result, it is planned to appeal to the United States Supreme Court. A number of the white people of Nashville feel that Durant is not guilty and are interested in the effort to free him.

II. FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The Sterling-Reed Bill

At the April meeting of the Board of Directors the Secretary submitted the following analysis of, and report on, the Sterling-Reed Education Bill:

Purpose

This is a bill which proposes to establish a federal Department of Education, with a Secretary of Education to be appointed by the President and to have control of matters pertaining to education

and of all the bureaus, divisions, etc., which may be transferred to the Department by Congress.

Appropriations

(1) The bill provides for an appropriation of $7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy of persons of fourteen years of age, to be apportioned annually among the states in proportion to the illiterate state population.

(2) The bill appropriates $7,500,000 for the Americanization of immigrants over fourteen years of age, to be apportioned on the basis of the ratio of the foreign-born to the total foreign-born population of the United States.

(3) The bill appropriates annually $50,000,000 "to be used in public, elementary and secondary schools for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, for providing better instruction and extended school terms especially in rural schools . . . and for the extension and adaptation of public libraries for educational purposes."

(4) The bill appropriates $15,000,000 "to encourage the States in the preparation of teachers for public school service."

The Bill appropriates $20,000,000 annually for physical education and instruction in the principles of health and sanitation.

To Secure Appropriation

In order to receive apportionment from one or more of the authorized appropriations, a state shall by legislative enactment accept the provisions of the Act and provide for the distribution and administration of the fund so apportioned.

No money shall be apportioned to a state unless the state provides a sum at least equally as large.

If a state loses any part of its appropriation it must replace it, or if it fails to expend its entire allotment the unexpended sum shall be deducted from the next annual appropriation.

Annual Report

The bill provides that the chief educational authority designated to represent a state receiving an appropriation shall, not later than September of each year, make a report to the Secretary of Education showing the work done in said state in carrying out the provisions of the Act, and the receipts and expenditures of the money apportioned to the state.

Manner in Which States May Distribute and Administer Funds

In each section of the bill authorizing an appropriation there is a clause which reads as follows:

> "All funds apportioned to a state for (Here is stated the purpose of the appropriation as cited in the section) shall be distributed and administered *in accordance with the laws of said state in like manner as the funds provided by state and local authorities for the same purpose.*"

The italics are ours.

Under Section 9, which carries an appropriation of $50,000,000 to equalize educational opportunities, the clause quoted above carries several provisions, which read as follows:

> "Provided, however, that the apportionments authorized by this section shall be made only to such states as by law provide: (a) A legal school term of at least twenty-four weeks in each year for the benefit of all children of school age in such state; (b) A compulsory school attendance law requiring all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years to attend some school for at least twenty-four weeks in each year; (c) That the English language shall be the basic language of instruction in the common school branches in all schools, public and private: *Provided*, That apportionment may be made under the provisions of this section to a state prevented by its constitution from full compliance with the foregoing conditions if said conditions are approximated as nearly as constitutional limitations will permit."

Comments

It may be seen that under the sections carrying the appropriations of $7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy and $7,500,000 for the Americanization of immigrants, and of $20,000,000 for the promotion of physical education, and of $15,000,000 for the preparation of teachers for public school service, the Negro will be subject absolutely to the present policy of the administration and distribution of public school funds in the Southern States.

It seems clear that these clauses enabling the Southern States to follow their local policies should have a proviso added insuring against discrimination. Such a proviso should be carefully drawn by some one with expert and legal knowledge.

In the case of the clause at the end of Section 9, which carries the appropriation of $50,000,000 for the equalizing of educational opportunities a proviso is added enabling the state to administer and distribute the fund in like manner as its local funds are administered and distributed.

It would seem at first glance that provisos (a) and (b) would be some protection to colored children, but the main proviso itself has a subsidiary proviso which says that the apportionment may be made if the state is prevented by its constitution from full compliance with the conditions of the section if the said conditions are approximated as nearly as constitutional limitations will permit. This would make it easy for the Southern States to evade complying with the conditions of the section.

An amendment of this section will require still more expert and legal knowledge than the other sections.

Suggestions

It might be best to have a bill drawn, using the Sterling-Reed Bill as a basis and model, with a definite proviso in each section carrying appropriations that the money so appropriated must be used in such manner that no class coming under the head of the section shall be discriminated against, and then have this bill introduced as soon as may be practical or wise.

It is quite probable that the present bill will not be passed at this Congress and will have to be re-introduced at the opening of the 69th Congress. The bill drafted by us could be introduced at the same time. Such an action would put us in the position of not opposing federal aid to rural education but of advocating a bill which insured fairness in the distribution of funds.

It is quite obvious that the clauses cited above were put in for the specific purpose of making the Bill palatable to the Southern States. It is almost certain that if these clauses are so changed as to make the bill distasteful to the South it will not receive the votes of southern members of Congress.

It appears that the Board and the National Office will have to keep close watch over the situation, because the time may come when it will be more necessary to fight the present bill than to advocate a new bill. It is clear that it would be folly to introduce and stand by a new bill which failed, and allow the old bill to go through.

Since the above was written the Secretary has been in Washington and there he talked with Senator Sterling, who has charge of the Bill in the Senate. The Senator expressed emphatically his conviction that the Negro should be safeguarded against discrimination. He informed the Secretary that at the hearing held on

the Bill in January, Dr. Linville, Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers, had suggested two amendments. The Senator stated that the amendments would be written into the Bill. The amendment read as follows:

Amending Section 9, which appropriates $50,000,000 to aid in elementary and secondary eduation: "Provided, however, that in the distribution of funds within the states the principle of equal educational apportunity for all children of such states between the ages of seven to fourteen years shall be carried out."

Amending Sections 7, 8, 10 and 11, which carry, respectively, appropriations for $7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy, $7,500,000 for the Americanization of Immigrants, $15,000,000 for the preparation of public school teachers, and $20,000,000 for physical education: "Provided, however, that the apportionments authorized by this section shall be made only to such states as by law provide that in the distribution of funds within the states the principle of equal educational opportunity for all persons of such states shall be carried out."

The above amendments are, substantially, the amendments which were drafted at the conference in Washington which the Secretary attended in January.

Senator Sterling admitted that he did not believe there was much chance at this time for the passage of the Bill.

III. DISCRIMINATION

Young Women's Christian Association

On July 24 Miss Helen McKinstry wrote Miss Lydia Gardine of East Orange, N. J., "We are in receipt of your 'Eligibility Estimate' blank, and from the information contained thereon I see no reason why you are not eligible for admission to the Central School (of Hygiene and Physical Education) if you wish to make application for entering this Fall." Miss McKinstry enclosed application forms, asking Miss Gardine to fill them out and then come to New York for a personal interview, and urged her "to attend to the matter of registration at once."

Miss Gardine returned the application forms and then received in reply the following letter:

"My dear Miss Gardine:

"Your letter of August 1st received, together with your application blank, registration card and check for $10.

"I am more than ever impressed with the absolute necessity of having interviews with students before we have any further business with them relative to entrance, inasmuch as I note on your application blank that you are by nationality an American Negro. If you had only mentioned this fact on your Eligibility Estimate blank, the matter would not have been carried this far.

"I am extremely sorry to be obliged to tell you that we are, by the terms of our agreement with Central Branch, not allowed to admit colored girls to the school. If I had only known your race in the beginning, you would not have been put to all this trouble of getting your credentials which I am herewith obliged to return to you.

"Again greatly regretting the necessity for writing you in this manner, I am,

"Sincerely yours,
(Signed) HELEN MCKINSTRY,
Director, Central School
Hygiene and Physical Education."

Miss Gardine referred the matter to the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P., and a letter was sent to the chairman of the National Board, Y. W. C. A., asking an official statement as to: (1) whether Miss McKinstry's action was officially approved and authorized by the National Board; (2) if not, what action would be taken in this specific instance toward Miss McKinstry, and what action would be taken in similar cases in future.

Although there has been much additional correspondence and a number of conferences between officials of the Young Women's Christian Association and of the N. A. A. C. P., no direct answer to this Association's questions has been given.

INEZ MILHOLLAND MEMORIAL

On August 16, 17, and 18, there was held at Meadowmount, New York, the country estate of Mr. John E. Milholland, a pageant by the National Woman's Party in memory of the late Inez Milholland, one of the leading exponents of woman suffrage and a sincere friend of the N. A. A. C. P. in her lifetime. Howard University sent Dean Lucy Slowe and Dr. Emmett J. Scott as its representatives, and Mrs. Addie W. Hunton went as a representa-

tive of the N. A. A. C. P. Mr. Milholland had written Dr. Scott asking him to make a short address, and on Mrs. Hunton's arrival at Meadowmount he asked her to speak for the N. A. A. C. P. at the grave. However, the National Woman's Party, under whose auspices the exercises were taking place, objected to speaking either by Dr. Scott or Mrs. Hunton. At the insistence of Mr. Milholland, the colored speakers made brief addresses.

Following the incident, which was widely carried in the press, the National Office wired a protest to the National Woman's Party as follows:

> "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in the name of one hundred thousand Americans, white and colored, protests against the cowardly capitulation to race prejudice by the National Woman's Party at the grave of Inez Milholland, an active member of our Association in her lifetime, who would have repudiated such a position as you have taken. If capitulation to race prejudice is to be the price of election of women to office we sincerely hope that every one of your candidates will be defeated in the coming election."

A few days later two representatives of the National Woman's Party called at the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. for the purpose, according to their statement, of explaining the "misunderstanding" which had arisen. Mrs. Gaeta Wold Boyer, who according to *The New York Times*, made the statement that since the Woman's Party was attempting to elect women to Congress from southern states the presence of Negroes at Meadowmount was embarrassing, denied that either she or Miss Alice Paul had made statements attributed to them by that newspaper. It was suggested to the representatives of the Woman's Party that the proper course would be for them to request a correction from *The New York Times* and then call upon those who had made charges based upon the news account in *The Times*. They were also given facts showing previous apathy and hostility to the interests of colored women by Miss Paul and the Woman's Party.

The Association volunteered to send out through its press service whatever statement the Woman's Party wished to make directly in answer to the charges the Association made against it. Although there was much correspondence between the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. and the National Woman's Party, no direct reply to the Association's criticism was received. It is however claimed in behalf of the Woman's Party that their original intention was to have no speeches whatever at the grave of Inez Milholland.

The Oklahoma Registration Cases

Another case of flagrant discrimination, successful only in part due to the vigilance of local colored citizens and activity on the part of the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. when the matter was brought to its attention, was the attempt of registrars in Oklahoma to prevent Negroes from registering for the 1924 presidential election. W. H. Twine, a colored editor of Muskogee, telegraphed the National Office that 5,000 Negroes in Muskogee and adjoining counties were being denied the right to register and asked that an appeal be made to the United States Attorney General. The National Office wired United States Attorney General Harlan F. Stone, giving him the facts, and the Attorney General at once ordered an investigation through Frank Lee, local United States Attorney. Mr. Lee wired the National Office that the matter was being investigated and that several prosecutions were being instituted.

As a result of the investigation six registrars in Muskogee and four in Wagoner County were arrested for conspiracy. Though they succeeded in getting only a few hundred colored people registered, the colored citizens of Oklahoma expressed a determination to go on with the fight. A United States Grand Jury was called and a hearing set for January 5. At a request from Oklahoma the Association's Secretary wired Attorney General Stone urging that the Department of Justice provide a special prosecutor to press the cases against the registrars.

Frederick W. Wells at Columbia University

Frederick W. Wells entered Columbia University about February 1, filing an application at that time for a room in one of the dormitories. About a month later a vacancy occurred in Furnald Hall to which Wells was assigned. Mr. Wells entered the dormitory about March 1 and remained unmolested until April 1, when newspapers reported that the house committee, following complaints from students, had voted to ask the University authorities to have Wells give up his residence in Furnald Hall.

Upon receipt of this news the Assistant Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. called upon Dean Herbert E. Hawkes of the University, asking whether the Association could be of any assistance. Dean Hawkes informed Mr. White that one man in Furnald Hall, a

trouble-making, disagreeable fellow, had tried to stir up feeling against Wells. Dean Hawkes said he had made it very plain that no discrimination on account of race or color would be made at Columbia University and that students who did not wish to live under the same roof with Wells could move. Mr. Wells explained to reporters his intention of remaining in the Hall.

On April 3, after a demonstration near the University by the Ku Klux Klan, the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. wired Mr. Wells as follows:

> We wish to express the admiration which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People feels for the manly stand which you have taken in the matter of the protest against your presence as a resident in Furnald Hall, Columbia University. We feel that you appreciate that in this case you are not merely an individual but that you are representing the hopes and aims of the best and bravest in the Negro race today. We realize and understand that the position in which you find yourself may incur some embarrassment for you and even some personal inconveniences, but we feel confident that you are willing and determined to withstand them for the sake of the principle which is at stake. We also wish to assure you that this Association and its National Office stand ready to assist you in this fight in every way possible and to give you its fullest support.

The request of the Furnald Hall house committee that Wells be asked to leave the dormitory was considered by the Residence Halls Committee of Columbia University on April 7 and rejected. Dean Hawkes presided at the meeting of the Committee, composed of the University authorities. At the close of the meeting Dean Hawkes announced, "The request has been received, but it has been refused. That ends it. There will be no further action, for we have dropped the matter."

Barring of Negroes from Mexico

During the year 1923 the National Office of the Association received several complaints from colored American citizens in Texas to the effect that American Negroes were being barred from entering Mexico; that all Americans except those of Negro blood passed back and forth from Eagle Pass, Texas, to Piedras Negras, Mexico, daily; that colored citizens could pass only if some white American vouched for them.

The National Office took up the matter with the Department of State. The Department of State replied that prior to the receipt

of our letter, "the American Consul at Piedras Negras had advised the Department that the Mexican immigration office at that place had received instructions restricting the admission into Mexico of American Negroes. The American Embassy at Mexico City was accordingly instructed to take up the matter with the appropriate Mexican authorities to the end that the restrictions be removed."

On October 1, 1923, the State Department forwarded to the National Office a report from the American Embassy at Mexico City stating, in part:

> "The Department of Interior has not given instructions to its Migration Inspectors and Agents to restrict the entrance of North American citizens of the Negro race who intend to return to their homes located in Mexico, but rather, when they have presented concrete cases of this intention they have been permitted passage to National Territory. . . . Immigrants, and particularly Negroes, perhaps on account of their limited knowledge concerning the immigration laws, neglect, in most cases, to exhibit those proofs of citizenship and nationality and the other documents required, for example: That which pertains to the proof of the fact that they are colonists and have concluded contracts over the matter and over permission for entering the country; those relative to proof that they actually have previously established their homes in Mexico, and that it is true they are returning to them. . . . From the above it is to be inferred that Mexico rests upon the necessity of applying definite restrictions upon immigration, but it is certain that these are not going to be directed against one particular race or nationality, but that they have been adopted through being absolutely necessary for the protection and conservation of its internal order."

Notwithstanding the favorableness of this report, complaints continued to come to the National Office regarding restrictions against colored people. Mr. William M. Vann seemed to have especial difficulty. Mr. Vann asserted that in 1909 he carried a colony of sixty-five families into the Republic of Mexico and settled them on a grant of 27,114 acres of land in the State of Durango, leased to the Durango Land Company, organized by him, for ninety-nine years. In 1913 the colony left their homes in Mexico and returned to the United States, upon the order of the President of the United States that all American citizens were to leave Mexico. At that time they listed their property with the American Consul at Mexico. On September 1, 1923, Mr. Vann went to Eagle Pass for the purpose of crossing over to his property in Mexico, but was prevented.

The National Office again took up the matter with the State

Department, specifically the case of Mr. Vann. The Department replied that "the American consul at Piedras Negras has been instructed to submit a full report upon the case of William Vann." The result of this investigation showed that the Mexican authorities were desirous of having Mr. Vann produce documentary proof that he was the owner of the property in question. Mr. Vann contended that he had left these papers in a bank in Mexico for safety on his return to the United States in 1913 and that he could not produce them because he was not allowed to proceed into Mexico in order to do so. Whereupon, early in 1924, the Department of State wrote the National Office suggesting that Mr. Vann write the Department of State of the United States asking the Department to request the Mexican authorities to permit him to enter Mexico for the purpose of obtaining the papers and thus establishing his ownership of the property in Durango.

1924

IV. SEGREGATION

Residential Segregation

District of Columbia

During the year the question of residential segregation became a most important issue in the District of Columbia. The two most important cases were taken up and are still being handled by the National Office and the District of Columbia Branch through Mr. James A. Cobb of the Association's Legal Committee.

(1) On November 16, 1922, a bill was filed to enjoin Mrs. Irene Hand Corrigan from executing a deed and transferring property to Mrs. Helen Curtis and, in turn, to enjoin Mrs. Curtis from taking title to the property. The basis of the suit was a so-called covenant, or agreement, entered into by certain property holders not to sell to any person of Negro race or blood.

On April 27, 1923, in a motion filed on behalf of the defendants, the same being prepared by Mr. Cobb as attorney for Mrs. Curtis, the covenant was attacked on the ground that it was against public policy and in violation of the Constitution of the United States. On May 8, 1923, the covenant was upheld by the decision of Chief

Justice McCoy, and the case was appealed to the Court of Appeals; and on January 18, 1924, the defendants, Mrs. Corrigan and Mrs. Curtis, filed their brief, through Mr. Cobb.

(2) On April 11, 1923, a suit based on the same covenant was commenced against Emmett J. Scott, et al.; and on December 11, 12, and 13 (1923) this case was tried before Mr. Justice Stafford. This case differed from the Curtis case in that the deed had passed and Mr. Scott had moved into his property. An amended bill was filed praying for a mandatory injunction and to have the deed cancelled and of no effect.

On June 2, 1924, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, through Associate Justice Josiah Van Orsdale, handed down its decision in the case of *Corrigan, et al vs. Buckley*, better known as the Curtis case. The Court of Appeals affirmed the decree of the lower court, to the effect that a covenant entered into by a group of white people forbidding the alienation in any way of their property by themselves, their heirs or assigns, to any person of the Negro race or blood for a period of twenty-one (21) years, was not unconstitutional or contrary to public policy.

An appeal was immediately taken to the United States Supreme Court, and on June 7 that appeal was allowed. It is probable that argument will be heard in April, 1925. Mr. Cobb will be joined in argument before the Supreme Court by Mr. Moorfield Storey, President of the N. A. A. C. P.; Mr. Louis Marshall, member of the N. A. A. C. P. Board of Directors; Mr. Henry E. Davis, former United States Attorney for the District of Columbia; Messrs. Arthur B. Spingarn and Herbert K. Stockton, also members of the N. A. A. C. P. Board of Directors; and Mr. William H. Lewis, former Assistant United States Attorney General.

As illustrating the intense interest displayed throughout the United States in this litigation, attention is called to a recent case before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, *Rose E. Johnson, et al vs. Ellen Marie Robicheau, et al..*, in which the property owners were penalized $2,000 for each of two lots sold to colored people, the penalty being stipulated in a property owners' agreement. The opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Hoehling sustained the imposition of the penalty and cited as his precedent the decision in the Curtis case by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. However, in view of the impending argument of the Curtis case before the United States Supreme Court, Justice

Hoehling has withheld his decree, awaiting the verdict of the Supreme Court.

A number of other cases of residential segregation in the District of Columbia are being held to await the outcome of this case.

The question of residential segregation by city ordinance was decided in 1917 in the so-called Louisville Segregation Case, where the United States Supreme Court ruled that such segregation was unconstitutional. Segregation by agreement between property owners now remains to be disposed of and the eyes of lawyers and of property owners throughout the country are directed toward the case now pending. It is a case that cannot fail profoundly to affect the future of race relations in the United States.

Louisiana

On September 18 the Louisiana State Legislature enacted a measure, which was signed by the Governor, providing for the segregation of colored and white people in communities having a population of 25,000 or more.

In New Orleans the N. A. A. C. P. Branch undertook to oppose the measure and a joint committee of Creoles and colored people was formed to fight a test case. The first case taken up was that of *Joseph W. Tyler vs. Ben Harmon.* Tyler, a white man, sought to enjoin Ben Harmon from making his cottage into a double house for the purpose of renting the addition to a Negro. Mr. Harmon had purchased his property about thirty years ago when that part of the city was a swamp. Since then the neighborhood has become thickly populated and now the block in which Mr. Harmon lives is equally divided between white and colored residents. About October 1, 1924, Mr. Harmon secured a permit from the city authorities to add a small rear building to his home. Mr. Tyler, who had purchased a piece of property in the block some two months before, sought an injunction through the courts prohibiting Mr. Harmon from completing the already begun addition, on the grounds that the entrance of another colored family would give colored people a majority in the block.

The case was argued in the civil district court and on October 24 Judge Hugh S. Cage handed down a decision that the city ordinance prohibiting Negroes from moving into territory principally white, and vice versa, was unconstitutional. His decision was

based upon the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Louisville Segregation Case.

The white citizens of New Orleans, beaten in the local courts, undertook to accomplish their purpose by "cooperation" among themselves. A number of measures were suggested to create the condition desired. Finally a plan submitted by a real estate firm of considerable experience was submitted to the Insurance Exchange, the Real Estate Agents' Association, the City Homestead League, the General Contractors' Association, the Contractors' and Dealers' Exchange, and the Louisiana Bar Association. Each of these organizations was asked, in the event of its endorsement, to appoint a committee of three, these to constitute a general committee of eighteen, which would study the subject and put the plan in operation. It was stated that the Committee's primary province would be to specifically denote residential areas for whites and colored; that, such lines established, the next step would be for individuals and associations who perform any of the functions incidental to ownership to subscribe to pledges not to participate in any transaction in which either white or colored would attempt to obtain residence in any section reserved for the opposite race. In this case, the real estate man would decline to sell or lease, the lawyer to examine title, the notary to pass the act, the insurance man to protect, the architect to design or remodel, and the homesteads to grant loans where any such invasion was intended.

Meanwhile the whites appealed the case which they lost in the lower court.

The New Orleans Branch is determined to go any distance in this matter. On December 1, 1924, the Branch had raised about $3,000 and had received pledges to the amount of $6,000.

School Segregation

Indianapolis, Indiana

There has arisen in Indianapolis, Indiana, a case (Archie Greathouse *vs.* Board of School Commissioners) involving the attempt to locate and maintain in that city a separate high school for colored pupils. Archie Greathouse, a reputable colored citizen, sought to enjoin the Board of School Commissioners from taking action. When the case was heard in the Marion Superior Court a decision in favor of the School Board was rendered. Thereupon, the attorneys for the plaintiff filed a motion to reconsider.

This case represents a striking example of the attempt to institute segregated schools in northern communities. The National Office has been in close touch with the Indianapolis Branch and its attorneys and has sought to render whatever aid it could in opposing effectively the institution of segregated high schools in Indianapolis. It is felt that if the segregationists are successful in that city, the movement will spread to other parts of the state and will, as well, start similar practices in other border and Northern states.

Dayton, Ohio

Willard School, Dayton, Ohio, is in a district where there are many Negro migrants. It has some 900 pupils of whom about 600 are white, and until 1924 all classes have been mixed. In 1924 retarded Negro pupils were placed together in four rooms in the basement, with newly appointed colored teachers. Some unretarded colored children were also placed in these classes, but were afterwards removed. There were 156 in all placed in the basement rooms. These pupils were also formed in a line at the back of the school and marched in at the back door. Other pupils formed their lines in front and entered the building through the front door. Upstairs were mixed classes of colored and white children, some few slightly retarded colored children being in these classes and about twenty retarded whites, with a larger group of normally graded colored children.

The colored citizens of Dayton, on learning of this condition, called a mass meeting and organized the Parents' Protective Association. This organization urged parents to remove their children until the condition was remedied. All but four of the children were removed and bond was prepared for parents should they be arrested by truant officers.

The Board of Education was petitioned in behalf of the colored citizens but without success. The Parents' Protective Association then hired a lawyer, J. P. Jetton, Esq., and he filed a petition for mandamus and temporary injunction. When Attorney Jetton appeared in court, on September 16, with his demurrer to the answer of the attorney for the School Board, the Judge deferred the legal hearing and substituted a conference. In this conference each side outlined its claims and the Judge urged them to get together and settle the matter, allowing them one week in which to do this.

At a joint meeting of the Executive Committee of the Dayton

Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Executive Committee of the Parents' Protective Association it was agreed that these two organizations should fight the matter together.

At the request of the Dayton Branch for a representative from the National Office to aid in this fight the Association's Director of Branches was sent to Dayton. Mr. Bagnall addressed crowded and enthusiastic meetings and rendered valuable assistance to the joint committee.

Coffeyville, Kansas

Through Attorneys Elisha Scott and R. M. Vandyne the Coffeyville, Kansas, Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. won an important legal victory involving the question of discrimination against colored pupils in the high schools of that state.

For some years a number of cities in the State of Kansas had discriminated against colored pupils in high schools. Under the Kansas statute it is lawful for the Board of Education to organize and maintain separate schools for the education of white and colored children, including the high schools in Kansas City; but the statute provides that no discrimination on account of color shall be made in any other high school.

According to the syllabus of the court in this case, brought on behalf of Celia Thurman-Watts against the Board of Education of the City of Coffeyville and A. I. Decker, Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Coffeyville, action was brought to compel the Board of Education to admit to the Roosevelt Junior High School of that city a daughter of the plaintiff who had completed the eighth grade and was ready to enter the high school. The controversy turned largely on the question whether or not the ninth grade is a part of the high school. The court ruled that in barring the colored girl the Board of Education and the Superintendent had violated the law.

The significance and importance of the decision won in this case are that it extends the prevailing rule in Kansas against discrimination in high schools to junior high schools as well.

This case was financed entirely by the Coffeyville Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., though the decision affects the entire state. The National Office contributed $200 to aid the Branch in its fight.

Immediately after the publication of the opinion of the court many towns of Kansas threw open to colored pupils doors which

had hitherto been closed to them. For example: There was a condition in Wichita, Kansas, where colored pupils were not allowed to go into the swimming pools and where some other advantages were denied them. On the strength of this decision the Board of Education of Wichita wiped out all discrimination.

Las Cruces, New Mexico

When the 1924–25 term of school opened in Las Cruces, New Mexico, several of the colored high school pupils went to the building as usual for several days but were not assigned. In the meantime several of the white citizens called to see some of the parents of these children saying that colored children would not be allowed to attend the public schools; that if they sent their children it would cause serious trouble.

The colored citizens called a mass meeting of all the colored people of Dona Ana County. The school question was discussed at length and it was decided to raise money to employ counsel to represent the colored citizens before the courts. The committee appointed to take the initiative in this matter consisted of Frank Boyer, A. J. Brooks, C. A. Hibbler, Mrs. Blaney Moultrie and V. J. Strait. At a second meeting held September 9 a permanent organization was perfected, and on September 16 a committee was appointed to confer with the School Board and invite them to meet with the colored committee. The School Board sent as its representatives Dean Goddard, chairman of the High School Board, and Professor Cobb, principal of the City High School.

Dean Goddard stated that it seemed to be the sentiment that separation was wanted, whereupon the Colored Citizens Committee voted unanimously that the School Board be informed not to prepare any separate quarters for colored pupils.

To a subsequent meeting of the Colored Citizens Committee Dean Goddard and Professor Cobb brought a statement of the High School Board, which read: "The principal is instructed to provide separate quarters and a teacher for colored students." On being questioned Dean Goddard stated that the action of the Board meant "segregation" plain and simple. Professor Cobb, who was also present at this meeting, added that a room had been secured, that a teacher would be secured, and school (for colored pupils) would open on the following Monday; that only one teacher would be employed; that the school would not be equal to the white school

in equipment; that there were no funds for any more provisions; that though there was no law for such procedure, he was taking his orders from the School Board. The colored citizens are determined not to submit to the institution of segregation and are prepared to take court action if necessary to prevent it.

In addition to the cases mentioned above colored people have been confronted with school segregation in the following cities: Imperial, Calif.; Terre Haute, Ind.; Arma, Kans.; Boynton, Okla.; and Muskogee, Okla.

Oteen Veteran's Hospital

In April the Association's Secretary visited Asheville, N. C., to fill a speaking engagement, and while there, a delegation of patients at the Veteran's Hospital at Oteen called on him and laid before him the complaint that certain white patients at the hospital were seeking to have them removed and sent to the Veterans' Hospital at Tuskegee. They also placed in the Secretary's hands sworn affidavits setting forth the unfair treatment which they were forced to endure.

The National Office took up this matter with the Honorable Frank T. Hines, Director of the Veterans' Bureau at Washington, asking that a thorough investigation be instituted and calling attention to the assurance given at the time of the establishment of the Tuskegee Hospital that this was not a move towards the segregation of all Negro patients on the part of the United States Government. A reply was received from the chief of the Inspection Division stating that the matter was being investigated. The Association also made an investigation and found:

1. That Ku Klux agitation at Oteen had produced a threat against one of the colored war veterans and a petition asking for the removal of twenty-nine of them to the government hospital at Tuskegee.
2. That twenty-six colored patients were segregated in one ward where there was bad over-crowding.
3. That the attitude of Dr. Archie McAllister, white, associate medical officer of the Oteen Hospital had been intolerable and that he had let it be known that he wanted to get rid of all colored patients.
4. That Dr. McAllister had forced patients to pay for signing insurance blanks, which is contrary to government regulations, and that he had

accepted pay from colored patients in the government hospital, threatening them to keep them silent.

5. That Dr. McAllister charged a patient for the signing of sick blanks and threatened the patient for reporting the matter.

Upon completion of the N. A. A. C. P. investigation, the Association's report, supported by affidavits and other documents, was forwarded to General Hines. The outcome of the report of the Association and of the investigation by the Veterans' Bureau was given as follows in the *Asheville Citizen* of October 2, 1924, in a special dispatch from Washington.

> "A letter from Dr. James Miller, Medical Officer-In-Charge at Oteen, advised Dr. McAllister that the central office at Washington had directed a discontinuance of his services after giving careful consideration to a report of an investigation of his case."

V. DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

On the opening day of the 68th Congress, December 3, 1923, Congressman L. C. Dyer re-introduced the Anti-Lynching Bill as H. R. 1. The Bill was referred to the House Committee on the Judiciary. On January 10, 1924, the Judiciary Committee reported the Bill favorably. On January 21 Mr. Dyer introduced a resolution asking for a rule to give the Bill immediate consideration. The resolution was referred to the House Committee on Rules and ordered printed. Action by the Committee on Rules was delayed for several months by other pressing matters before the House, and though in the spring of 1924 it was felt that sufficient pressure could be brought to get the rule and possibly to jam the Bill through the House, this course was not pursued for the following reasons:

1. The plan made by the leaders contemplated the adjournment of Congress the early part of June.

2. There was absolutely no possibility of getting any action on the Bill in the Senate before the adjournment of Congress, even if it had been passed by the House. This was because of the disorganized condition of the Senate, due to investigations, etc. We felt that the passage of the Bill by the House and the adjournment of Congress before the Senate could act would have the effect of making the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill a fac-

tional political issue and a bait for colored votes without any definite assurance of action by the Senate on the re-assembling of Congress.

Congress adjourned for the summer without any action being taken on the Bill. On December 7, following the re-convening of Congress for the short session, the following letter was received from Congressman Theodore E. Burton, who was one of the staunchest supporters of the measure when it passed the House of Representatives as House Bill No. 13:

"Dear Mr. Johnson:

"I am a good deal troubled about the Anti-Lynching Bill. As is usual in the short session, there is a very strong pressure for prompt disposition of business with the idea of taking up but a few measures and giving preference to appropriation bills.

"The Democrats, both in House and Senate, make the threat that, if the Anti-Lynching Bill is brought up, they will filibuster and prevent the adoption of any legislation. Nevertheless, I am willing to insist that something be done.

"Are you coming here at an early date? Of course the prospects in the next Congress would presumably be considerably better than in this.

"Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) THEODORE E. BURTON."

The Secretary wrote Congressman Burton and also Congressman Dyer that he would come to Washington shortly to have a conference with them and other leaders regarding the prospects of the Bill and what steps might best be taken.

VI. ANTI-LYNCHING CAMPAIGN IN ENGLAND

During the meeting of the American Bar Association in London in the month of July, through the assistance of Mr. Percy E. Hurst, member of the Council of the Law Reform Association of London, the N. A. A. C. P. was enabled to bring to the attention of Americans in England the Anti-Lynching fight being waged in America.

The campaign was conducted by means of placards which sandwich men displayed in the streets and in public places. The placards were inscribed with such captions as *"American Lawyers—How About Burning Alive of Human Beings in Your Country?"*—

"Fight for Law Enforcement."—"Write for Information to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York."

Mr. Hurst wrote the National Office that so marked was the effect of the posters that an "unseen hand" had the sandwichmen relegated to side streets.

As a consequence of this campaign the N. A. A. C. P. received numerous communications from all parts of the British Empire asking for literature and details of the Association's anti-lynching campaign.

VII. LYNCHING

The following is a comparative statement of lynchings in the United States during the past five years:

1920	65
1921	64
1922	61
1923	28
1924	16

For the thirty years prior to 1919 the average number of lynchings per year was 107. It is obvious that there must be specific causes for this sudden and almost precipitous decline in the number of lynchings that has taken place in the past few years. There are several, but the chief cause, of which others are sub-causes, is the campaign of agitation, education and publicity against lynching which has been carried on by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This campaign was greatly intensified from the time the Association initiated a definite movement for the passage of an anti-lynching bill by Congress, that is, within the past five years.

The effectiveness of the Association's campaign is attested in the report of the House Committee on the Judiciary regarding the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, made January 19, 1924, which said:

> Lynchings, according to the reports reaching the public, have been decreasing in the last four or five years. Some would have us believe

that this is due to causes that make action by the Congress unnecessary. We do not agree with those. We believe that the decrease is due to the publicity given this crime, and the fear of a law by the United States providing for punishment for those who participate and are responsible for lynchings. An active effort was begun in the Sixty-fifth Congress for this legislation, when there was introduced a bill (H. R. 11279) similar to the one we now report. Prior to that time Members of Congress had been giving the subject careful study, in order to determine whether Congress should and could legislate upon the subject. The real publicity that has helped has come through the urging upon Congress favorable action on this legislation. The American people generally have been for the first time told the truth regarding lynchings, and that they are not caused by the commission of heinous crimes, except in a small part of the total number lynched. If this legislation is put upon the statute books, lynchings will almost entirely disappear. Failure to go ahead will result in lynchings increasing until they will be as bad as they were before we started this work in Congress.

Lynching Record for 1924

	Name	Date	Place	Manner of Lynching
1.	John Hayes	Mar. 18	Cordele, Ga.	Hanged and Shot
2.	Beach Thrash	April 3	Woodbury, Ga.	———
3.	Luke Adams	April 21	Orangeburg Co., S. C.	———
4.	Bubbers Wilson	May 26	Fort Meyers, Fla.	Shot
5.	Milton Williams	May 26	Fort Meyers, Fla.	Shot
6.	———	June 7	Crockett, Texas	Shot
7.	Harry Shelton	July 20	Scooba, Miss.	Hanged
8.	———	July 21	Lake County, Fla.	Shot
9.	———	July 21	Lake County, Fla.	Shot
10.	John Wilson	Aug. 2	Athens, La.	———
11.	Warren Wood	Sept. 1	Jasper, Fla.	——— (Body burned)
12.	Herbert Taylor	Sept. 20	Jonestown, Miss.	Shot
13.	William Bell	Oct. 8	Chicago, Ill.	Beaten to Death
14.	Fred Shannon	Oct. 27	Wayland, Ky.	Shot
15.	Sam Smith	Dec. 16	Nashville, Tenn.	Hanged and Shot
16.	Roosevelt Grigsby	Dec. 18	Charleston, Mo.	Hanged and Shot

Chronological List

Mar. 18—*Cordele, Ga.:*

A mob of from 50 to 75 citizens forcibly took John Hayes, trusty in the Crisp County chain gang, from guards and riddled his body with bullets after stringing him to a tree. The officers were attempting

to escape with Hayes into Bibb County, following his arrest on a charge of attempted attack upon a small girl.

April 3—*Woodbury, Ga.:*
Beach Thrash, 15 years old, was taken from jail and lynched by a mob. He was charged with having shot the Chief of Police who had arrested him on a charge of stealing.

21—*Orangeburg County, S. C.:*
Luke Adams, accused of attacking a white woman, was found lynched.

May 26—*Fort Meyers, Fla.:*
Bubbers Wilson and Milton Williams met death at the hands of mobs following their identification as the men alleged to have attacked two white girls. Wilson was taken from the sheriff shortly after being arrested, and Williams was removed from a freight train. Both were riddled with bullets and dragged through the streets.

June 7—*Crockett, Texas:*
An unnamed man, charged with rape, was shot to death by a mob.

July 20—*Scooba, Miss.:*
Harry Shelton, charged with attempted rape, was taken out of jail, taken out of town, and hanged.

21—*Lake County, Fla.:*
Two unnamed men, charged with insulting a white woman, were shot to death by a mob.

Aug. 2—*Athens, La.:*
John Wilson, charged with murdering his wife, was put to death by white persons without coming into the hands of the law.

Sept. 1—*Jasper, Fla.:*
Warren Wood was killed by a posse of citizens and his body burned. He was said to have run amuck while drunk and killed a policeman.

20—*Jonestown, Miss.:*
Herbert Taylor, charged with rape, was taken from officers of the law as they were attempting to carry him to jail and was shot to death.

Oct. 8—*Chicago, Ill.:*
William Bell, charged with attempted assault upon two white girls, was killed by a mob.

27—*Wayland, Ky.:*
A mob battered its way with sledge hammers through the brick wall of the town jail, dragged Fred Shannon from his cell, after locking the jailer in his room, tied him to a tree and shot him to death. He was accused of having shot to death a white coal miner in an altercation over liquor.

Dec. 16—*Nashville, Tenn.:*

Sam Smith, 15 years old, alleged to have shot and wounded a white grocer on December 8, and himself wounded and lying manacled to a bed in the city hospital, was taken out of the hospital and lynched by a mob. The mob of a dozen men kept attendants at bay, cut telephone wires, and carried Smith to the outskirts of the city where he was strung to a tree and his body riddled with bullets.

18—*Charleston, Mo.:*

A mob of over 200 men overpowered the sheriff in his office in order to get possession of Roosevelt Grigsby, 20 years old, who was alleged to have attempted to attack a white girl. He was dragged across the courtyard and hanged to a tree within 50 feet of the sheriff's office. A bullet was fired through the body which was then cut down, tied to an automobile and dragged through the streets of the Negro section.

Summary

By States

Florida	5
Georgia	2
Illinois	1
Kentucky	1
Louisiana	1
Mississippi	2
Missouri	1
South Carolina	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	1
Total	16

Alleged Offenses

Murder	3
Attacking white woman	5
Attempted assault on white woman	4
Insulting white woman	2
Shooting white man	2
Total	16

Manner of Lynching

Shot	7
Hanged	1
Hanged and Shot	3
Beaten to Death	1
Manner Unknown	4
Total	16

Taken From Peace Officers and Jails

Georgia	2
Florida	1
Kentucky	1
Mississippi	2
Missouri	1
Total	7

Conviction: In January, 1924, Robert J. Lancaster, who with seven other members of Company M, Alabama National Guard, was charged with lynching William Baird, a miner (on January 13, 1921, at Jasper, Ala.) was found guilty of second-degree murder and sentenced to serve eighteen years in the State Penitentiary.

Lynching Prevented: It has been noted with a great deal of satisfaction that in a number of instances during the year state authorities have given evidence of their desire to prevent mobs from taking the law into their own hands. In many cases of attempted lynching sheriffs have removed their prisoners for safe keeping and in others the local National Guard unit has been ordered out by the Governor.

VIII. MOB VIOLENCE

St. Paul, Minnesota

Early in the year the St. Paul Branch of the Association informed the National office that there had been a number of hold-ups of white women on the streets of the city and that several colored men had been accused of being the guilty parties. On March 28 a white woman was killed. A number of colored men were arrested and afterwards released, but the last one arrested was held and was identified by a number of the women who had been attacked. Finally he confessed to the murder.

The St. Paul Branch at once took up the matter and convinced themselves that the young man was guilty. At the same time they established the fact that he was a mental defective.

The Branch appealed to the National Office for assistance in allaying the tension existing in both St. Paul and Minneapolis, and

the National Office immediately wrote to the editors of newspapers in both cities expressing the hope "that a crime committed by a degenerate or a mental defective will not be visited upon law-abiding citizens of the same race." The letter had the desired effect.

IX. THE TWENTY-FOURTH INFANTRY

In the Fourteenth Annual Report mention was made of the Petition for the release of the men of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, imprisoned since 1917 at Leavenworth, Kansas. On Thursday, February 7, 1924, at noon, President Coolidge received at the White House a delegation of representative colored citizens of the United States who presented to him a petition signed by more than 120,000 people of both races, asking for pardon for the men of the Twenty-fourth. The delegation consisted of fourteen persons headed by James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., who acted as spokesman. The members of the delegation were:

S. S. Booker, of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, representing 3,000 college graduates.

Rev. L. K. Williams, of the National Baptist Convention, representing 2,938,579 Baptists.

Nahum D. Brascher, of the Associated Negro Press.

A. Philip Randolph, Editor of *The Messenger* and representing The Friends of Negro Freedom.

Archibald H. Grimké, of Washington, D. C., distinguished American, former U. S. Minister to Santo Domingo and Spingarn Medalist.

Mrs. Gabrielle Pelham, of the National Race Congress.

Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, of the National Association of Colored Women.

J. E. Mitchell, Editor St. Louis *Argus*, representing National Negro Press Association.

Robert S. Abbott, Editor *Chicago Defender.*

Bishop J. S. Caldwell, of Philadelphia, representing the A. M. E. Z. Church.

Channing H. Tobias, New York City, of the Y. M. C. A.

Robert L. Vann, Editor *Pittsburgh Courier.*

Carl Murphy, Editor Baltimore *Afro-American.*

Cyril V. Briggs, Head of Crusader News Service, representing African Blood Brotherhood.

Bishop John Hurst, of the A. M. E. Church, who was also invited to serve as a member of the delegation, could not be in Washington to attend the ceremony but he authorized the use of his name and that of his church with its 548,355 members in connection with the delegation, as did also Mr. B. J. Davis, Editor of the *Atlanta Independent,* who was invited as a representative of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows. There was also attached to the petition a memorial signed by a committee of fifty composed of cooperating organizations and individuals.

The National Equal Rights League, through William Monroe Trotter, its Secretary, was represented by its own delegation of four members which, according to a telegram from Mr. Trotter to the N. A. A. C. P., came to endorse the petition gathered and presented under the auspices of the N. A. A. C..P.

In presenting the petition, Mr. Johnson said:

Mr. President:

We come as a delegation representing the 120,000 signers of a Petition asking you to exercise the power of executive clemency and pardon the former members of the United States Twenty-fourth Infantry now confined in Leavenworth Prison convicted on charges of rioting at Houston, Texas, in August, 1917. And we come as the representatives not only of those who sign this Petition, but we are the spokesmen of the sentiments, the hopes, the sorrows, too, of the more than ten million colored citizens of the United States.

The Petition asks for the pardon of these men on four grounds:

1. The excellent previous record for discipline, service and soldierly conduct of the Twenty-fourth Infantry.
2. The provocation of local animosity against these men because of their race and color, which was manifested in insults, threats and acts of violence against these colored soldiers wearing the uniform of the United States Army and waiting to be sent to France to fight.
3. The heavy punishment meted out to members of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, of whom nineteen were hanged, thirteen of them summarily and without right of appeal to the Secretary of War or to the President, their Commander-in-Chief.
4. The exemplary conduct of the men as prisoners.

The record for bravery and loyalty of colored soldiers in every crisis of the nation is too well known to be called to your attention here, and the long history of the Twenty-fourth Infantry is a part of that record. But we do wish to call your attention to the conditions which immediately preceded the riots of August, 1917, in Houston, Texas.

Contrary to all precedent, the provost guard of this colored regiment had

been disarmed in a state and in a city where insult was the daily experience of the colored man wearing the uniform of the United States Army. Following a long series of humiliating and harassing incidents, one soldier was brutally beaten and a well-beloved non-commissioned officer of the regiment also brutally beaten and fired upon because they had intervened in the mistreatment of a colored woman by local policemen. The report spread among the regiment that their non-commissioned officer, Corporal Baltimore, had been killed. Whatever acts may have been committed by men of the regiment were not the result of any premeditated design. The men were goaded to sudden and frenzied action. This is borne out by the long record of orderly and soldierly conduct on the part of this regiment throughout its whole history up to that time.

The punishment meted out to the members of this regiment was the most drastic and unusual in the history of the Army. Nineteen of the men were hanged, the first thirteen of them summarily and without right of appeal. This wholesale, unprecedented and almost clandestine execution shocked the entire country and appeared to the colored people to savor of vengeance rather than justice. It bore the aspects of a visitation upon color rather than upon crime. This state of mind was intensified by the significant fact that although white persons were involved in the Houston affair and the regiment to which these colored men belonged was officered entirely by white men, none but colored men have ever been prosecuted or condemned. Fifty-four of the men are still in prison serving life and long-term sentences.

It is not within the province of this delegation, nor is this the occasion, to argue these cases. But we wish to call your attention to the fact that the men were tried and convicted under a blanket indictment.

The conduct of these men as prisoners at Leavenworth has been more than exemplary. This much has been openly stated by Warden Biddle of the Penitentiary. And it is in behalf of these remaining men of the regiment who have now served nearly six years in prison that we lay before you this Petition signed by more than 120,000 American citizens, white as well as black, asking that by the exercise of executive clemency you pardon these men and restore them to citizenship.

This Petition of 120,000 names represents the earnest efforts through the past four months of every active element among the colored people of the country. It is the result of the united and consecrated work of civic, fraternal, educational and religious organizations, and of that comparatively new but mighty force, the colored press. All of those elements in the race are represented in this delegation.

We have the honor, Mr. President, respectfully to present this Petition in the name of the signers and in the name of the colored people throughout the United States whose attention will be focused upon the action it may please you to take. We present it in the name of the people whose hearts have long carried the harsh fate of these men as a heavy burden and with the feeling that, whatever acts they may have committed, they have already been more than punished; and whose hope for their early pardon has been raised by your recent magnanimous action in the cases of war-time offenders.

President Coolidge received the delegation cordially and listened

with attention to Mr. Johnson's presentation of the petition. The President assured the delegation that he was well disposed towards the imprisoned members of the 24th Infantry and that he would do what he could in their behalf. President Coolidge stated that he would order an investigation of the case of each man by the War Department and that if he was empowered to do so he would move to have the men released.

Following President Coolidge's statement, Mr. William Monroe Trotter, Secretary of the National Equal Rights League, made an eloquent plea for the imprisoned men and presented resolutions and letters from congressmen and others, urging pardons.

Following the meeting with President Coolidge at the White House, Mr. Johnson called upon Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas, and Representative Martin Madden, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, and both these gentlemen promised to speak to the President and to second the petition presented through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The full committee, in whose behalf the delegation to the White House presented the petition to President Coolidge, is as follows:

E. W. Abner.....Supreme Commander, American Woodmen.
Sadie Mossell Alexander.....Grand President, Delta Sigma Theta.
J. W. Alstork.....National Grand Commander, Ancient York Masons.
C. R. Blake, Jr.....Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.
Eva D. Bowles.....Young Women's Christian Association.
Nannie H. Burroughs.....President, National Training School for Women and Girls.
C. E. Bush.....National Order of Mosaic Templars of America.
W. S. Cannon.....Supreme Grand Master, Independent Benevolent Order.
R. R. Church.....Lincoln League of America.
James A. Cobb.....Special Assistant U. S. Attorney, 1907–1915. Dean Howard University Law School.
George W. Cook.....Professor, Howard University.
B. J. Davis.....Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.
Dorothy Hendrickson.....Secretary, Kappa Gamma Kappa.
John Hurst.....Bishop, A. M. E. Church.
Henry Lincoln Johnson.....Lincoln League of America.
Robert E. Jones.....Bishop, M. E. Church
Isaac Lane.....Bishop, C. M. E. Church.
J. A. G. Lu Valle.....Editor, *The Washington Tribune.*
Kelly Miller.....Dean Junior College, Howard University.
Fred R. Moore.....Editor, *The New York Age.*

Edward H. Morris.....Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.
W. H. Miller.....Grand Secretary, Scottish Rite Masons.
Ruth Logan Roberts.....Alpha Kappa Alpha.
Emmett J. Scott.....Secretary-Treasurer, Howard University.
C. R. Taylor.....Secretary, Phi Beta Sigma.
Maggie L. Walker.....Secretary-Treasurer, Independent Order of St. Luke.
Sadie Warren.....Owner, *New York Amsterdam News.*
J. Finley Wilson.....Grand Exalter Ruler, Independent Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World.
J. C. Woods.....President, National Baptist Convention, Uninc.

On February 12 Secretary of War John W. Weeks wrote the N. A. A. C. P. as follows:

"Mr. James Weldon Johnson, Secretary,
"National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
"Dear Sir:

"The petition presented by you to the President in behalf of the so-called Houston Rioters has been referred to the War Department for consideration.

"A few days ago I appointed a board of officers, consisting of one officer of The Adjutant General's Department and one officer of The Judge Advocate General's Department, to visit the United States penitentiaries at Atlanta, Georgia, and Leavenworth, Kansas, and the disciplinary barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Jay, New York, for the purpose of considering the cases of all military prisoners confined in the penitentiaries, and of all prisoners now in confinement in the disciplinary barracks mentioned above serving sentences of confinement of five years or more.

"The board of officers mentioned above is made up of the two officers of the War Department who handle matters pertaining to prisoners, and special attention will be given by the board to those cases in which sentences appear to be in excess of those adjudged by civil courts for like offenses. When this board shall have concluded its work, a similar board will be appointed for a like investigation at the United States Penitentiary, McNeil Island, Washington, and the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Alcatraz, California.

"The investigation by the board will include the sentence of the prisoners in whose behalf your petition was submitted.

"Sincerely yours,
(Signed) "JOHN W. WEEKS,
"*Secretary of War.*"

The long and intensive campaign bore fruit when the War Department, after a thorough investigation, reduced the sentences of each of the men. The men were interviewed separately by the Investigating Board which went to Leavenworth, and it was on the report of this Board that the War Department's action was taken. The prison record of each man was taken into consider-

ation. Reductions of varying lengths were given which, in view of the fact that all prisoners are eligible for parole at the expiration of one-third of their sentences, made eighteen men eligible for immediate parole, sixteen others within a year, sixteen in 1927, and the remaining four in 1928. A letter from Secretary of War Weeks to the Association's Secretary, under date of May 13, reads:

> Dear Sir:
>
> In harmony with the understanding with you, I am furnishing you the following information relative to the so-called Houston rioters:
>
> Of the fifty-four of these men who were in confinement in the penitentiary when the board of officers visited that institution, thirty were serving life sentences. As the result of the recommendations of the board of officers, made after a most careful and exhaustive investigation and consideration of each case on its individual merits, ten of the thirty men under life sentences have received reductions in their sentences that will make them eligible for release on home parole during the calendar year 1925; and the remaining twenty have received reductions from life to thirty years, which will make sixteen of them eligible for home parole in 1927, and four of them eligible for home parole in 1928.
>
> In passing upon these cases great weight was laid upon the evidence presented at the trial and the conduct in confinement of the prisoners concerned; and the investigation showed that the men whose sentences were reduced to thirty years were the more deeply involved in the affair, and had the poorer records of conduct in confinement. Of the other twenty-four prisoners involved in the Houston riot, serving sentences of less than life at the time of the investigation of the board, eighteen are eligible for parole during the calendar year 1924, and six will be eligible for home parole in 1925.
>
> As this recent investigation has resulted in reductions in sentences in every case of the so-called Houston rioters, with the exception of six who are eligible for parole not later than August, 1924, and as the latest date under the modified sentences on which any prisoner will become eligible for home parole is August, 1928, it is considered that the War Department has been most liberal in its treatment of the prisoners.
>
> Under a rule of the War Department governing the subject, the case of every military prisoner is considered for clemency at least once each year; and neither the recent investigation by the board of officers, nor any action taken upon its recommendation, will preclude the consideration annually of the case of each one of the prisoners involved.
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> (Signed) JOHN W. WEEKS,
>
> *Secretary of War.*

Finally, one more man received a reduction which was not included in the letter from the Secretary of War. William J. Hudson was not at Leavenworth when the examining board made its

visit there. As he was in the government hospital at Washington, his case was not considered. Immediately after the Board had returned to Washington from Leavenworth, Mr. Hudson was returned to Leavenworth to complete his life sentence. When apprised of this fact, the National Office wrote the War Department and shortly thereafter was notified that Hudson's sentence, too, was reduced from life imprisonment to twenty years. This makes a total of fifty-five reductions secured by the campaign—in brief, of every member of the Twenty-fourth Infantry.

At the close of the year 1924 twenty of these men had been released as a result of the Association's petition. The list, together with dates of parole, is as follows:

Isaac A. Deyo	June 5
Ben McDaniel	Aug. 16
Reuben W. Baxter	Sept. 17
Douglas T. Bolden	Sept. 17
Gerald Dixon	Sept. 17
Roy Tyler	Sept. 17
Jos. Williams, Jr.	Sept. 17
Albert T. Hunter	Nov. 10
John Ranier	Nov. 10
Jas. E. Woodruff	Nov. 10
J. H. Hudson, Jr.	Nov. 13
John Geter	Nov. 26
John H. Gould	Nov. 26
Jas. H. Mitchell	Nov. 26
Edward Porter, Jr.	Nov. 26
Grant Anderson	Dec. 3
William Burnett	Dec. 14
Chas. J. Hatton	Dec. 14
Robert Tillman	Dec. 14
Hezekiah J. Turner	Dec. 14

The Association has kept constantly in touch with the War Department, the Parole Board, the office of the United States Attorney General, and with Warden Biddle of Leavenworth Penitentiary during the campaign in behalf of the men, and the campaign will be continued in an endeavor to shorten further the terms of the men still in prison.

A brief summary of the Association's work on these cases from their beginning follows:

1. A trained investigator was sent to the scene as soon as news of the riot was received in New York, her report being published in *The Crisis* of November, 1917.

2. On October 27, 1917, the N. A. A. C. P. engaged by telegram an attorney of La Porte, Texas, a son of the famous Col. Sam Houston, to act as counsel for the men who were to be tried.

3. The N. A. A. C. P. on February 19, 1918, presented a petition signed with 12,000 names to President Wilson protesting against further executions, after 13 men had been hanged, as a consequence of which ten death sentences were commuted.

4. In 1919, in cooperation with Mr. Emmett J. Scott, an effort was made to have the War Department reconsider the cases.

5. In 1921, the N. A. A. C. P. gathered 50,000 names to a petition which was presented to President Harding, asking pardon for the men.

6. In 1923, at the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. in Kansas City, a pilgrimage of more than 500 members and friends was made to Leavenworth Penitentiary and the men were assured that unremitting efforts would be continued for their liberation. In cooperation with churches, fraternal bodies, welfare organizations and the Negro press, the N. A. A. C. P. gathered 125,000 signatures to a petition which was presented to President Coolidge in February of this year.

This great victory is the most striking evidence of what united effort on the part of colored people and their friends can accomplish. In this campaign, churches, fraternal orders, women's and other clubs, branches of the N. A. A. C. P., and particularly the colored press, worked whole-heartedly and unselfishly. The task could never have been accomplished had there not been such cooperation, and the results stand as a lasting monument to those who worked so faithfully. While immediate pardon to all the soldiers was not granted, nevertheless, every man of the fifty-five will be free in little more than three years, most of them within a much shorter period.

The N. A. A. C. P. here wishes to express its most cordial appreciation for this splendid cooperation and to acknowledge the unfailing interest and courtesy of Warden W. I. Biddle, of Leavenworth Penitentiary, as well as of Secretary of War John W. Weeks and members of the Parole Board.

X. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Fifteenth Annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P., held in Philadelphia, Pa., June 25–July 1, proved to be one of the greatest and most influential meetings ever held by colored people in America. Upwards of 300 delegates, representing 29 states, including the far West, the South, the middle West and the East, were in attendance.

The year being one of presidential election, politics and political action took a major position in the deliberations of the Conference, but no phase of civic and social life affecting the Negro's welfare was neglected. Especially was the effort made to give the delegates an opportunity to present and discuss the problems affecting colored people in their own localities. Thus, segregation with special reference to education and the school situation in the North was discussed, as was the new form of segregation by agreement among property owners, now before the United States Supreme Court. The question of migration was also thoroughly canvassed, and the Conference made public through the Associated Press and other news distributing agencies not only that the Negro migrant had made good in the North but that it was incumbent upon white labor to welcome him and work with him.

The Conference was opened with Bishop John Hurst of Baltimore presiding, and an address of welcome on behalf of the City of Philadelphia was delivered by the Hon. Charles B. Hall, president of the City Council. Mr. Isadore Martin, president of the Philadelphia Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., delivered an address of welcome on behalf of the Branch. At this meeting a message from President Coolidge was read, concluding with the words: "I cannot too earnestly express my good wishes to your splendid organization and my hopes for the fullest realization of its high purposes."

One of the most stirring events of the Conference was the Sunday mass meeting held in the Metropolitan Opera House, with an attendance estimated at about five thousand. The speakers at this meeting were Dr. John Haynes Holmes; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, representative in Congress from Ohio; and the Association's Secretary. The subject discussed was "The Political Future of The Negro," and through the courtesy of Wanamaker's and Gimbel's the addresses were broadcast over the radio Station WIP.

On June 30 a solemn and impressive ceremony was held at the

cradle of American Independence, Independence Hall. Here the Association's Secretary spoke briefly as follows:

"My dear Friends:

"We are here for a very brief service. As you know, we stand upon historic ground. We are standing in the Cradle of American Liberty. We stand where were set down the highest ideals of democracy ever expressed by the human mind. We stand where was signed the Declaration of Independence. I shall not read that whole document; it is too long. I will simply quote the words which are the heart of the whole instrument:

> 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.'

"Upon these words is builded the world's greatest experiment in democracy. The ideals which underlie our nation were given to the world from this place; and we feel it proper that we should come here in order to pledge ourselves anew to the fight for the realization, the full realization, of those ideals in the democracy that is practiced as well as the democracy that is preached."

An interesting feature was the session held at Atlantic City on Saturday, June 28. The delegates were taken from Philadelphia to Atlantic City on Saturday morning on a special train, and a mass meeting was held in the afternoon. This meeting was addressed by the Mayor of Atlantic City.

The concluding session of the Conference, on Tuesday night, July 1st, the Spingarn Medal Night, was given over to the presentation of the Spingarn Medal to a representative of Roland Hayes, the great singer, who was in England, and therefore could not be present in person to receive it. By coincidence, the N. A. A. C. P. received a cable announcing that on the night of the presentation of the medal in Philadelphia, Roland Hayes had been commanded to sing before the King and Queen of England. The medal was presented by Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, President and Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, who hailed Roland Hayes as an artist and a great musician, and said that in practically every field of human endeavor colored people had obtained distinction for themselves as individuals and in behalf of their race. Harry T. Burleigh, distinguished musician, for many years singer at St. George's Church of New York City, recipient of the Spingarn Medal in 1917, and well-known composer, spoke on "The Negro in Music." He also received the medal in behalf of Roland Hayes. Another speaker at this meeting was William Stanley Braithwaite, of Bos-

ton, recipient of the Spingarn Medal in 1918, who delivered an eloquent and scholarly address on "The Negro in Literature," closing one of the most successful and stirring conferences ever held by colored people in the United States.

The Conference devoted much thought and attention to the question of the use of the vote by colored people in the United States. The Committee on Resolutions drafted, and the Conference adopted, three statements, one of them regarding the relations of the Negro to organized labor and the other two concerned with his general and political needs.

The Conference reiterated the need for colored voters to emancipate themselves from blind allegiance to any one political party and to make the best interests of the race, coupled with the best interest of the country, the deciding factors in voting, instead of appeals to mere sentiment and party labels. The Association's position was misinterpreted by interested politicians, and attempts were made to undermine its influence. These attempts failed utterly, and recognition of the Association's principle of intelligent political independence is steadily gaining ground.

The Public Statement adopted by the Conference, and Resolutions to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, then about to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, and to the American Federation of Labor, were as follows:

Public Statement of the Fifteenth Annual Conference

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 15th Annual Conference believes that the main problem before the American Negro today is the use of his vote in the approaching election.

We face the two old parties and a possible third party movement. The Republican party which has always commanded the great majority of our votes has, during the last two administrations, recognized again our right to a voice in the party councils and made effort to carry out our wishes in legislation and administration; nevertheless, although in power in all branches of the government, it has specifically failed to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, to abolish segregation in the government offices at Washington, to take any action with regard to "Jim-Crow" cars in interstate travel, to withdraw our military forces from Haiti, or to make a loan to Liberia.

The Democratic party appears to us in two distinct parts. The Northern wing of the party has recognized our demand in many states and treated us there with much fairness. But this Northern wing is at the absolute mercy of the "Solid South" with its "rotten borough" system depending upon the disfranchisement of the Negro; with its segregation and "Jim-Crow" legislation, its mob law and lynching and its denial of proper education to Negro children.

Both parties are catering to the Ku Klux Klan, that secret fomenter of religious intolerance, race hate and midnight murder whose spread is the greatest proof of national decadence and the greatest menace to democracy.

It is manifestly impossible that under these circumstances the enfranchised Negroes of the United States should vote a straight ticket for either of these parties. Our voting must be primarily a matter of individual candidates for office. In order to vote effectively we must know the records of candidates. We must demand of them clear statements as to their attitude toward matters of vital interest to us.

We must remember that we are electing in this election and other elections not simply the President of the United States but members of Congress and of the state legislatures; state officials, judges, members of school boards and other local officials. We must especially keep in mind the fact that the emancipation of the Negro today is more largely a matter of state law and local ordinance than of national enactment and that the interpretation of the law by the courts and the administration of the law by officials are just as important and often far more important than its actual content.

We need, therefore, to redouble our agitation and our effort in court action and law administration and we need especially to use our ballot in order to reward our friends and to punish our enemies. We must utterly ignore party labels and vote for the men who will best serve us and our country.

The need for such determination is shown in many ways but perhaps more especially by the continued attitude of this nation toward the education of Negro children. We have as a race no adequate common school facilities and we have continually put forward by United States government, state and local school officials and the great philanthropic foundations, not only undemocratic segregation in education, but the astonishingly undemocratic doctrine that Negroes should have no voice in the education of their own children but that their schools and colleges should be dominated by their enemies. We have repeatedly asked for Federal aid for education and in answer we have a bill before Congress which is a travesty on justice and would perpetuate in local school systems these very discriminations against which we vigorously protest.

Nothing will more quickly bring the old parties to a clear realization of their obligations to us and the nation than a vigorous third party movement. Such a movement may save us from a choice between half-hearted friends and half-concealed enemies or from the necessity of voting for the same oppression under different party names. Such a movement may give the American Negro and other submerged classes a chance to vote more directly for economic emancipation from monopoly and privilege and for a fairer chance to work according to ability and share more equitably the social income.

Finally may we remind the new immigrants to the North as well as Negroes living there that the greatest significance of this migration is the increased political power of black men in America. We have at last found an effective method not only to punish the mob, the segregationist and the disfranchiser through economic boycott, but also a chance to gain for ourselves new political power in order to vote our people into freedom.

But this means nothing unless it is used with far-reaching intelligence. We must learn to vote; we must study democracy and government; we must not

be ashamed, any of us, to confess our ignorance of the machinery of the American government and of the methods of its political life. Let us learn what voting means and for whom to vote and how to vote ourselves into free, modern, industrial democracy.

To the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action

GENTLEMEN:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Fifteenth Annual Conference, speaking for a large portion of the thinking Negroes of America, takes this opportunity to lay before your Conference certain considerations touching the Negro race.

The political power of Negroes has greatly increased owing to the continuous migration of black working people from the disfranchising South to the industrial centers of the North.

Any political party which aims to attract the votes of Negroes today must first convince them of its determination and ability to forward their industrial and political and social emancipation.

This emancipation involves the same problems of labor and wage, of monopoly and privilege, of effective industrial democracy, which face all laboring classes the world over.

But the American Negro has in addition to these another and more subtle and more dangerous problem, that of discrimination against him within the very ranks of labor itself; discrimination to keep him out of the unions; discrimination in the unions after he has joined; discriminations of all sorts to deprive him of earning a decent livelihood.

It is this widespread and determined race discrimination that is alienating the Negro vote from the progressive liberal and labor vote, and is furnishing the capitalists free of charge not only cheap and increasingly efficient and non-union and union-hating labor, but also a large and growing vote in the main industrial centers of the country.

We appeal to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action to take such enlightened and far-sighted steps against race and color discrimination as will enable us to appeal to our people in behalf of the liberal and labor parties of the nation, without being faced by the present incontrovertible fact that these very persons are today greater enemies of our right to earn decent bread and butter than the captains of Monopoly and Privilege.

To the American Federation of Labor

For many years the American Negro has been demanding admittance to the ranks of union labor.

For many years your organizations have made public profession of your interest in Negro labor, of your desire to have it unionized, and of your hatred of the black "scab."

Notwithstanding this apparent surface agreement, Negro labor in the main is outside the ranks of organized labor, and the reason is first, that white union labor does not want black labor and secondly, black labor has ceased to beg admittance to union ranks because of its increasing value and efficiency outside the unions.

We thus face a crisis in interracial labor conditions; the continued and determined race prejudice of white labor, together with the limitation of immigration, is giving black labor tremendous advantage. The Negro is entering the ranks of semi-skilled and skilled labor and he is entering mainly as a "scab." He broke the great steel strike. He will soon be in a position to break any strike when he can gain economic advantage for himself.

On the other hand, intelligent Negroes know full well that a blow at organized labor is a blow at all labor; that black labor today profits by the blood and sweat of labor leaders in the past who have fought oppression and monopoly by organization. If there is built up in America a great black bloc of non-union laborers who have a right to hate unions, all laborers, black and white, eventually must suffer.

Is it not time, then, that black and white labor get together? Is it not time for white unions to stop bluffing and for black laborers to stop cutting off their noses to spite their faces?

We, therefore, propose that there be formed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods and any other bodies agreed upon, an Interracial Labor Commission.

We propose that this Commission undertake:

1. To find out the exact attitude and practice of national labor bodies and local unions toward Negroes and of Negro labor toward unions.
2. To organize systematic propaganda against racial discrimination on the basis of these facts at the labor meetings, in local assemblies and in local unions.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stands ready to take part in such a movement and hereby invites the cooperation of all organized labor. The Association hereby solemnly warns American laborers that unless some such step as this is taken and taken soon the position gained by organized labor in this country is threatened with irreparable loss.

Of this communication there has been merely a formal acknowledgment from the American Federation of Labor.

Members of the Committee on Resolutions were:

Harry E. Davis, Cleveland, Ohio, *Chairman;* Bishop John Hurst, Baltimore, Md.; Hugh O. Cook, Kansas City, Mo.; John C. Wright, Jacksonville, Fla.; W. A. Singfield, Little Rock, Ark.; T. G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va.; Mrs. Alice Dunbar-Nelson, Wilmington, Del.; A. T. Atwater, Rome, Ga.; Dr. O. W. Langston, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. George E. Cannon, Jersey City, N. J.; Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, New York City; Dr. J. A. Cotton, Peoria, Ill.; Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, Richmond, Va.; Oscar H. McFarlin, Great Falls, Montana; Mrs. Caloreia Boone, Atlantic City, N. J.

Among the speakers at the Conference were: Hon. L. C. Dyer; Hon. Ira W. Jayne, Judge of the Wayne County (Michigan) Circuit Court; Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor; Mrs.

Florence Kelly; Mr. James A. Cobb, of the N. A. A. C. P. Legal Committee; Dr. William Lloyd Imes of Philadelphia; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, of the Community Church, New York; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, member of Congress from Ohio; Mr. Jacob Billikopf, Director of the Federation of Jewish Charities, Philadelphia; Dr. Solomon Porter Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, President of the National Training School for Women and Girls; and members of the N. A. A. C. P. executive staff.

It was decided at this Conference that the next Annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P.—June 24–30, 1925—would be held in Denver, Colorado, at the cordial invitation brought by delegates from that city.

XI. PUBLICITY

The growing scope of the Association's publicity is indicated in the increase of stories sent out over those of previous years, thus:

1922	Total releases	276
1923	" "	339
1924	" "	440

This is an average of 1.2 press stories for each day in the year, exclusive of letters to editors. Some 250 colored newspapers receive this news, and most of them print some of it. Among the white newspapers it is distributed throughout the nation by mail, by the Associated Press and other agencies. Thus a wide radiation of news of the N. A. A. C. P. activities is obtained.

Evidence was clear of the respect with which the Asscіation's news is treated by the white press during the Annual Conference in Philadelphia. The N. A. A. C. P. Conference was held in Philadelphia simultaneously with the Democratic National Convention in New York, which crowded the news columns everywhere in the country. Yet, five Philadelphia dailies daily reported the proceedings of the N. A. A. C. P. Conference, commenting on it editorially, and gave in the aggregate nearly 35 feet of space to the N. A. A. C. P., an average of seven feet of type per newspaper. Even in

New York, the scene of the Democratic Convention, the daily papers gave the N. A. A. C. P. Conference 9 feet of news space.

The attitude of the colored press, with a few individual exceptions, merits the warmest praise and acknowledgment from the N. A. A. C. P. The colored press throughout the country has become an effective and a powerful force, reaching millions of colored people and many white people every week. This force the colored editors have effectively used, in cooperation with the N. A. A. C. P., in fighting the battles of the race; one of the conspicuous victories accomplished by this joint effort being the parole of twenty Houston martyrs during the year 1924 and the assurance that in 1928 all of the men will have been released. Without such an united front, made possible through the work of the colored press, this and other achievements in behalf of the colored people of America would have been vastly more difficult of accomplishment, if not altogether impossible.

Some editors have published as many as ten, twelve, and in one case even nineteen releases of the N. A. A. C. P. in one week. Editorial support of the N. A. A. C. P. victories and campaigns has been generous and it has been a pleasant part of the publicity campaign to make known such editorial encouragement to colored editors throughout the country.

It would be impossible to cite all the news releases displayed in white publications, but a few instances will give an idea of the wide dispersion of N. A. A. C. P. news:

The *San Jose, Cal., Herald*, on November 19, published the complete N. A. A. C. P. story of the fight on segregation being carried before the United States Supreme Court.

The *Memphis, Tenn., News-Scimitar* of November 10, commented editorially on the statement of a Cleveland, Ohio, teacher that "not until I joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People did I begin to learn what the black man was seeking, the true extent of the ridiculous color barrier in the United States, the real tragedy of being born a Negro among hostile whites."

The Fourteenth Annual Report of the N. A. A. C. P. was commented on editorially by numerous daily newspapers, including the *Milwaukee Leader*, the *St. Louis Times*, the *New York Evening Post* and the *Indianapolis Star*.

A photograph of the Anti-Lynching placards which the N. A.

A. C. P. had carried by sandwich men in London streets during the meeting of the American Bar Association in England was published in the *New York Tribune.*

N. A. A. C. P. letters and releases during the election of 1924 were published prominently in all the metropolitan dailies, including the *Times, World, Herald-Tribune, American, Evening Post, Sun, Mail* and *Telegram.*

The *New York Evening World* editorially commended the demand of the N. A. A. C. P. for an unequivocal statement by President Coolidge on the Ku Klux Klan.

The *Outlook* of January 30 published an editorial on the N. A. A. C. P. victory in the Arkansas Cases. The *Nation, New Republic, Times,* and the *Los Angeles Evening Express,* have referred editorially to the work of the N. A. A. C. P.

Better Times of November 3 published a photograph and sketch of the Association's Secretary.

A letter sent to the white editors of St. Paul and Minneapolis, and published in their newspapers, was instrumental in easing racial tension in the twin cities, according to report made by the local Branch.

The valiant service done by the colored press during the year justifies special acknowledgment by the N. A. A. C. P. to the editors of the following newspapers which, either regularly or frequently, published N. A. A. C. P. releases and sent copies to the National Office:

Alabama—Mobile Weekly Press; Bessemer Enterprise; *Arizona*—Phoenix Tribune. *Arkansas*—Arkansas Survey of Little Rock; Mosaic Guide. *California*—California Voice, Oakland; New Age Despatch, Pacific Defender, California Eagle and California Voice of Los Angeles. *Colorado*—Colorado Statesman; Denver Star. *Connecticut*—New Haven New Idea. *Washington, D. C.*—Washington Sentinel; Washington American. *Florida*—Jacksonville Sentinel; Tampa Bulletin; Pensacola Colored Citizen. *Georgia*—Atlanta Independent; Augusta Echo; Rome Enterprise; Albany Supreme Circle News; Savannah Tribune; Savannah Journal. *Illinois*—Chicago Defender; Chicago Whip; Half Century Magazine, Chicago. *Indiana*—Anderson Shining Star; Indianapolis Freeman; Indianapolis Recorder. *Iowa*—Des Moines Bystander; Sioux City Enterprise. *Kansas*—Wichita Protest; Topeka Plain Dealer. *Kentucky*—Danville Blue Grass Torchlight; Louisville News; Louisville Leader. *Louisiana*—New Orleans Southwestern Christian Advocate; New Standard Magazine; Shreveport Sun. *Maryland*—Baltimore Afro-American; Baltimore Herald. *Massachusetts*—Springfield New World; Boston Chronicle. *Michigan*—Detroit Independent; Grand Rapids Michigan State

News. *Minnesota*—St. Paul Northwestern Bulletin-Appeal. *Mississippi*—Jackson Southern Register. *Missouri*—St. Louis Argus; Kansas City Call; Kansas City Searchlight. *Nebraska*—New Era, Monitor, Advocate of Omaha. *New Jersey*—Newark Tribune; Red Bank Echo; Jersey City Signal. *New Mexico*—Albuquerque Southwest Review. *New York*—Rochester Weekly News; New York News; Amsterdam News; Hotel Tattler; Buffalo American; Messenger. *North Carolina*—Asheville Enterprise; Charlotte Afro-American Presbyterian. *Ohio*—Cincinnati Union; Toledo Observer; Cleveland Call; Cleveland Gazette; Urbana Watchman. *Oklahoma*—Oklahoma City Black Dispatch; Muskogee Cimeter. *Oregon*—Portland Advocate. *Pennsylvania*—Philadelphia Tribune, Missionary Seer, Public Journal; Pittsburgh Courier; Morton Churchman Franchise; Uniontown Journal. *South Carolina*—Charleston Messenger. *Tennessee*—Nashville Clarion, National Baptist Voice; Memphis Western World Reporter, Times; Chattanooga Defender. *Texas*—Dennison Gate City Bulletin; Houston Informer, Freeman, Western Star; Dallas Express. *Virginia*—Newport News Star; Charlottesville Messenger; Richmond Planet, St. Luke Herald; Norfolk Journal and Guide; Hampton Southern Workman. *Washington*—Seattle Enterprise. *Ontario, Canada*—London Dawn of Tomorrow.

In addition to the above list of newspapers, a number of editors have been kind enough to place the N. A. A. C. P. on their exchange lists or have sent occasional copies of their publications to the N. A. A. C. P., without, however, publishing N. A. A. C. P. releases, or else using them very infrequently. Such papers, to whose editors due acknowledgment is made, are:

Tuskegee, Alabama, *Messenger;* San Francisco *Western Appeal;* Washington, D. C., *Odd Fellows Journal;* Atlanta, Ga., *Post;* Chicago *Broad-Ax;* Evanston, Ill., *Weekly;* Indianapolis *Ledger;* Kansas City *Baptist Record;* Charlotte, N. C., *Star of Zion;* Philadelphia *Christian Recorder;* Providence, R. I., *Advance;* Nashville *National Baptist Review;* Beaumont, Texas, *Industrial Era.* Portsmouth, Va., *Vigil.*

Very probably a number of newspapers besides those listed have published releases sent out by the N. A. A. C. P. Press Service, but as no copies have been sent to the National Office, there is, unfortunately, no way of knowing what papers they are.

Members of the N. A. A. C. P. have published during the year the following books:

"The Gift of Black Folk"—Dr. Du Bois.
"The Fire in the Flint"—Mr. White.
"There is Confusion"—Miss Fauset.

"Bursting Bonds" (new edition)—Mr. Pickens.

"The Negro Faces America" (new edition)—Mr. Seligmann.

In addition, a number of articles have been contributed by members of the staff to various newspapers and magazines.

XII. FINANCES

Mr. Philip G. Peabody's Offer

In January the following letter was received from Mr. Philip G. Peabody:

> "I take pleasure in enclosing five hundred dollars as a gift to the funds of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.
>
> "If gifts to a total of nine thousand dollars be actually made to the Association before March 10, 1924, I will add thereto a gift of one thousand dollars."

The National Office began at once an intensive campaign to raise money to meet Mr. Peabody's offer. and on the last day of the sixty-day drive it had received the sum of $10,102.14. Several large contributions came from white members of the Association and white friends interested in the work, among them Mrs. J. E. Spingarn, Mr. Edward Lasker, and Mr. Louis Marshall, all of New York, who gave $1,000, $500 and $250, respectively. The bulk of the money, however, came from colored people, both through the Association's branches and from individuals and organizations. The successful completion of the drive gave the best possible evidence that colored people are rallying to the organization which is fighting their battles on a national scale, and that those who have are willing to carry on the fight for those who have not.

The Woman's Auxiliary to the N. A. A. C. P.

In May, the group of women in New York City formerly known as The Committee of One Hundred formed themselves into a permanent organization known as the Women's Auxiliary to the N. A. A. C. P. The officers elected were: Mrs. Bessie Oliver Miller, president; Mrs. G. B. Needles, first vice-president; Mrs. Rose McClendon, second vice-president; Mrs. Elizabeth H. Davis,

recording secretary; Miss R. G. Randolph, executive secretary; Mrs. Grayce F. Nail, treasurer. The chairmen of standing committees were : Mrs. Ida Hilton, Entertainment; Dr. Gertrude E. Curtis, Legal Redress; Mrs. Helen Press, Membership; Miss Crystal Byrd, Education; Mrs. Grace Nail Johnson, Press and Publicity.

These women have given two benefits during the year, netting considerable sums which were turned over to the National Office. The first benefit given under the auspices of the Auxiliary was the "Runnin' Wild Benefit," the gross receipts of which were $2,049.35, and the net receipts, $1,517.35. A second affair given at Happy Rhone's Orchestra Club netted for the work of the Association, $434.00.

The Association is deeply indebted to Messrs. Miller & Lyle and Sissle & Blake and members of their companies, also to a number of other artists who aided in making these affairs the successes they were.

Women's Defense Fund

At the annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. held in Kansas City in 1923, a number of women met and pledged themselves to raise for the legal work of the Association what should be known as The Women's Defense Fund. These women have been quietly but steadily working ever since and to date have contributed $1,127.88 toward the Association's work. Mrs. Myrtle F. Cook of Kansas City, Mo., is chairman of this group.

Ladies' Service Group

The Ladies' Service Group of Washington, D. C., turned into the National Office during the year $533.10. The officers of this active organization are: Mrs. E. Beatrice Francis, president and treasurer; Mrs. Alice Fry, vice-president; Mrs. Emma G. Murray, secretary.

Treasurer's Report

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Gentlemen:

Our examination of the books of Account of the
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People—General Department
has been completed for the year ended December 31, 1924. In

connection therewith, we have prepared and present herewith the following financial statements:

Exhibit A—Balance Sheet, December 31, 1924.
" B—Statement of Income and Expenses for the Year Ended December 31, 1924 (Exclusive of Special Funds).
" C—Summary Statement of Special Funds.

The Cash transactions for the year are summarized as follows:

Balance in all Funds January 1, 1924	$6,717.41
Receipts of all Funds Year 1924	66,869.64
	$73,587.05
Disbursements of all Funds Year 1924	63,569.82
Balance in all Funds December 31, 1924	$10,017.23

While a detailed audit of the accounts was not made, extensive tests were applied to determine the correctness and accuracy of the various entries.

There has been a decided shift in Balance Sheet items during the year. Condensed Comparative Balance Sheets at December 31, 1924, and 1923, are shown below, reflecting this change in financial position:

Assets	1924	1923
Cash	$10,017.23	$6,717.41
Accounts Receivable	205.10	166.61
Inventories	105.50	197.30
Furniture and Fixtures (Net of Depreciation)	3,738.67	3,440.85
Total Assets	$14,066.50	$10,522.17
Liabilities		
Special Funds	$6,841.72	$6,348.61
Notes Payable		3,000.00
Accounts Payable	251.82	3,285.04
	$7,093.54	$12,633.65
Net Worth		
Balance January 1st	*$2,176.48	$4,536.14
Net Profit or Loss for Year	9,149.44	*6,647.62
Balance December 31st	$6,972.96	*$2,111.48
Total Liabilities and Net Worth	$14,066.50	$10,522.17

* Deficit.

During the year the American Fund for Public Service donated the unpaid balance of the note due them, which amounted to $2,500. This donation was authorized by the Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service, as per letter dated March 28, 1924, which was presented for our examination.

The appended Balance Sheet, and Statement of Income and Expenses, in our opinion, correctly state the financial position of the General Department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at December 31, 1924, and the financial operations for the year then ended.

Very truly yours,

HEATON, CULLINAN AND HELMUS.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1924

ASSETS

Cash:		
General Fund, including Petty Cash, etc.	$3,175.51	
Anti-Lynching Fund	4,912.54	
Legal Defense Fund	1,068.95	
Arkansas Defense Fund	243.15	
Amy E. Spingarn Prize Fund	600.00	
Maclean Memorial Fund	17.08	
Total Cash		$10,017.23
Accounts Receivable		205.10
Inventory—Branch Files		105.50
Furniture and Fixtures—Net of Depreciation		3,738.67
		$14,066.50

LIABILITIES

SPECIAL FUNDS:		
Anti-Lynching Fund	$4,912.54	
Legal Defense Fund	1,068.95	
Amy E. Spingarn Prize Fund	600.00	
Arkansas Defense Fund	243.15	
Maclean Memorial Fund	17.08	
Total of Special Funds	$6,841.72	
Accounts Payable—Trade	251.82	
Total Liabilities		$7,093.54

Net Worth

January 1, 1924 (Deficit)		$2,111.48
Add Conference Expense Adjustment		65.00
January 1, 1924 (Deficit) Adjusted		$2,176.48
Net Gain for Year 1924 per Statement of Income and Expenses		9,149.44
Net Worth December 31, 1924		$6,972.96
		$14,066.50

Statement of Income and Expenses

Year Ended December 31, 1924
(Exclusive of Special Funds)

Income:		
Contributions		$13,143.04
Literature Sales		301.62
Emblem Sales		12.06
Membership:		
Branches (including Branch Contributions)	$41,265.51	
Members at Large	3,379.33	
		44,644.84
Total Income		$58,101.56
Expenses:		
Salaries:		
Administrative	$11,419.92	
Field	4,721.44	
Publicity	2,599.92	
Clerical	13,922.32	
Special (Auditing)	125.00	
Total Salaries		$32,788.60
Meetings		67.00
Rent		3,170.07
Light		98.03
Telephone and Telegraph		819.74
Postage		2,395.06
Printing		3,207.37
Multigraphing		293.40
Depreciation on Furniture and Fixtures		196.77
Traveling Expenses		3,971.09
Miscellaneous		1,944.99
Total Expense		$48,952.12
Net Gain for Year, per Exhibit "A"		$9,149.44

Summary Statement of Special Funds

Anti-Lynching Fund:

January 1, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$5,868.37
Contributions Received—Year 1924	1,500.91
	$7,369.28
Disbursements—Year 1924	2,456.74
December 31, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$4,912.54

Legal Defense Fund:

January 1, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$120.01
Contributions Received—Year 1924	1,127.88
	$1,247.89
Disbursements—Year 1924	178.94
December 31, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$1,068.95

Amy E. Spingarn Prize Fund:

Contributions Received—Year 1924	$600.00
December 31, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$600.00

Arkansas Defense Fund:

January 1, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$243.15
December 31, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$243.15

Maclean Memorial Fund:

January 1, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$17.08
December 31, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$17.08

Building Fund:

January 1, 1924—Undisbursed Balance	$100.00
Transferred to Anti-Lynching Fund During 1924	100.00

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS

The Amy E. Spingarn Prizes in Literature and Art

During the year Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn offered, through *The Crisis*, cash prizes aggregating six hundred dollars for literary and artistic contributions, leaving the circumstances and conditions under which the prizes are to be awarded entirely to the decision of the Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P., after consultation with the editor of *The Crisis*. These prizes are offered to persons of Negro descent in order to encourage their aptitude for art and expression.

The Madam C. J. Walker Scholarships and Medal

The Madam C. J. Walker Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, has offered prizes to be awarded annually to two branches and to one outstanding individual officer or member of a Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., which individual shall not be an employee of the National Office. The object in offering these awards is to stimulate greater interest in organization for the advancement of colored people in the United States and in other countries, and to commend branches of the N. A. A. C. P., through their duly elected presidents and through an officer or member, for superior achievement during the year of contest. The prizes are in the form of two scholarships, one of one hundred dollars and the other of seventy-five dollars, and a gold medal. In 1924 the one-hundred-dollar scholarship was awarded to New York City; the seventy-five-dollar scholarship was awarded to New Orleans; and the gold medal was won by Mrs. Carrie L. Shepperson of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Resignations

In April, Mrs. Addie W. Hunton resigned. For more than three years Mrs. Hunton was one of the Association's field secretaries and as such was one of its most valued officers. The Board of Directors and her colleagues regretted exceedingly that Mrs. Hunton, one of the best equipped and most distinguished women in the country, found it necessary to give up her position with the organization.

In October, Dr. George E. Cannon resigned as a member of the National Board of Directors and Mr. James A. Cobb of Washington, D. C., was elected to fill out Dr. Cannon's unexpired term.

Mr. Cobb has for some years been an active member of the Association and in his office of chairman of the Legal Committee of the District of Columbia Branch has fought a number of important cases before the courts. Mr. Cobb was appointed and served as Special Assistant to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia during the administration of President Taft.

XIV. THE DEPARTMENT OF BRANCHES

Finances

The record of the branches for 1924 is one of which the Association can be proud. Of the 372 branches of the Association 138 have completely met their apportionment. Ninety-nine of them paid more than their apportionment. This is in contrast with the showing of other years, 41 branches meeting their apportionment in 1923; 37 in 1922 and 52 in 1921.

During the year the Department of Branches has steadfastly stressed the necessity of the branches furnishing the major part of the National Budget, with gratifying response from the branches. $42,376.24 has been paid in on branch apportionment in contrast with $26,362.12 in 1923. The sum contributed by the branches is the largest in any year.

Honor Roll Branches

Honor Roll Branches, those that completed their apportionment are as follows:

Arizona—Bisbee, *Flagstaff, Phoenix; *Arkansas*—*Fort Smith, *Little Rock, *Pine Bluff; *California*—Fresno, Modesto, Needles, *San Diego, San Francisco, *San Jose, *Santa Monica, *Stockton, *Tehama County; *Colorado*—Canon City, *Colorado Springs, *Denver, *Pueblo, Trinidad; *Connecticut*—*Hartford, *New Britain, Plainville, *New Haven; *Delaware*—Wilmington; *Florida*—*Blountstown, *Jacksonville, Key West; *Georgia*—*Rome; *Illinois*—*Danville, *Glencoe, *Lake County, Peoria; *Indiana*—*Brazil, *Gary, *Fort Wayne, *French Lick, *Indianapolis, *Rushvile, *South Bend, *Terre Haute; *Iowa*—*Des Moines, *Waterloo; *Kansas*—*Arkansas City, *Atchinson, Garden City, Lawrence,

Newton; *Kentucky*—*Covington, Maysville; *Louisiana*—*New Orleans, *Shreveport; *Maine*—*Bangor; *Maryland*—*Baltimore, Ridge; *Massachusetts*—*Fall River, Haverhill, *New Bedford, *Worcester; *Michigan*—*Bay City, Benton Harbor, *Detroit, *Flint, Niles, *Oakland County; *Minnesota*—*Duluth, *St. Paul; *Missouri*—Cape Girardeau, *Jefferson City, *Kansas City, *St. Louis; *Montana*—*Great Falls; *Nebraska*—*Alliance, *Beatrice, *Omaha; *New Jersey*—*Atlantic City, *Montclair *Newark; *New Mexico*—Albuquerque; *New York*—*Albany, Binghamton, *Brooklyn, *Buffalo, *Elmira, Ithaca, Jamestown, *New Rochelle, *New York, Nyack, *Rochester, *Saratoga Springs, Troy; *North Carolina*—*Durham; *Ohio*—*Akron, *Cleveland, *Dayton, *Erie County, *Lima, Mansfield, *Springfield, Struthers, *Toledo, *Urbana, Wellsville, Zanesville; *Oklahoma*—Boss, *Chickasha, Crawford County, *Enid, Logan County, *Oklahoma City, Okmulgee; *Oregon*—*Portland; *Pennsylvania*—*Chester, *Cheyney, *Connellsville, *Darby, *Erie, *Franklin, *Hollidaysburg, *Lancaster, *Meadville, Norristown, *Media, *Philadelphia, *Reading; *Rhode Island*—*Providence; *South Dakota*—Sioux Falls, *Yankton; *Texas*—Yoakum; *Virginia*—Danville, *Martinsville; *West Virginia*—*Bluefield, Charleston, *Clarksburg, *Gary, *Jenkinjones, *Mingo County; *Wisconsin*—*Beloit.

A number of branches deserve special mention. Among these are Little Rock, Ark., with an increase of over 800% in amount paid on apportionment; Philadelphia, Pa., which not only entertained the Annual Conference in a splendid way, but exceeded its apportionment, paying over $5,000; the Special Committee of New York City, acting in lieu of the branch, which raised well over $5,000 this year in contrast with $1,698 raised during last year. The amount paid by branches according to sections is as follows:

Eastern (Conn., Del., Dist of Col., Me., Mass., N. J., N. Y., Pa., R. I.)	$17,574.00
Border (Ky., Md., Mo., Okla., W. Va.)	5,266.60
Southern (Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., N. C., S. C., Tenn., Texas, Va.)	4,322.52
Midwestern (Ill., Ind., Ia., Kans., Mich., Minn., Nebr., Ohio, S. Dak., Wis.)	11,452.85
Western (Ariz., Calif., Colo., Idaho, Mont., Nev., N. Mex., Ore., Utah. Wash., Wyo.)	3,760.27
	$42,376.24

* Have paid more than apportionment.

During 1924 twenty-two branches were organized in the places listed below:

California
- Pacific Grove
- Santa Barbara

Florida
- Blountstown

Illinois
- East St. Louis
- Lake County

Indiana
- Brazil
- Elkhart
- Mitchell

Kansas
- Newtown
- Winfield

Kentucky
- Covington

Maryland
- Ridge

Massachusetts
- Haverhill

Montana
- Butte

Nebraska
- Alliance

New York
- Nyack

Ohio
- Struthers

Oklahoma
- Boss

Pennsylvania
- Connellsville
- Darby
- Media

West Virginia
- Jenkinjones

Field Work

Field work this year was done by a diminished force owing to the resignation of Mrs. Hunton on April 1st, and the closing of the Harlem office under Mr. Berry. During the year the officers of the Association traveled 55,637 miles and addressed 501 meetings as follows:

	Meetings	*Mileage*
Robert W. Bagnall	158	19,672
William Pickens	264	17,629
Walter F. White	18	7,450
James Weldon Johnson	18	7,279
Addie W. Hunton	30	2,757
Mary White Ovington	3	390
Oliver D. Williams	3	220
Herbert J. Seligmann	2	190
Louis H. Berry	5	50
Total	501	55,637

This does not include the meetings addressed and the mileage of Dr. Du Bois.

In covering the above mileage the following states were visited:

Arkansas	Kansas	New Jersey
Colorado	Kentucky	New York
Connecticut	Louisiana	North Carolina
Delaware	Maryland	Ohio
District of Columbia	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania
Florida	Michigan	Rhode Island
Georgia	Minnesota	Tennessee
Illinois	Missouri	Virginia
Indiana	Nebraska	West Virginia
		Wisconsin

In addition to the National Officers, Congressman Dyer, Mr. Neval Thomas, of Washington, Mr. Harry E. Davis of Cleveland, Mr. Isadore Martin of Philadelphia, Judge Ira W. Jayne of Detroit and Mr. Charles Edward Russell of Washington, members of the National Board, addressed a number of branches.

As heretofore forums, conferences, schools and other institutions and organizations were addressed during the year by the National Officers.

Features

Two interesting features were initiated in the conduct of the field work during 1924. First the stressing of entertainments, especially the Popular Baby Contests which were largely directed by Mr. Pickens and second the endeavor to secure from colored people substantial contributions of $100.00 and under—particularly stressed by Mr. Bagnall. More than $11,000 was raised by the branches through the Baby Contests, of which nearly $5,000 has been sent to the National Office. The attempt to secure large contributions from colored people also met with a gratifying response. Both of these plans have large possibilities, and will be used to a fuller measure in the coming year.

XV. REPORT OF "THE CRISIS" FOR THE YEAR 1924

The net paid circulation of *The Crisis* for the year 1924 has been 34,909 copies per month, or a total of 418,900 copies sold. This is a decrease from the figures of last year when 493,000 copies were sold. The cash income for the year has been $45,810.52.

The Crisis is feeling somewhat the effects of the industrial depression in the field which it has so long dominated. In the end this will be a good thing and we propose to meet the situation in the most intelligent way. *The Crisis* is still preeminently the leading Negro magazine, its nearest competitor having about one-fifth of its circulation. Of the policy and contents of *The Crisis* the readers are still the best judges. We have sought to vary and broaden its appeal and at the same time keep it true to its chief mission. Beginning with the thirtieth volume in May, 1925, *The Crisis* will change its form and its contents to some extent.

Efforts have been made to secure specific financial aid for a survey of Negro education. As a business venture this would not pay; but if the investigation can be financed, *The Crisis* will publish a series of statistical articles each year, showing the condition of Negro common school education in the South.

Outside *The Crisis* the chief activity of the Director has been in the supporting of the Pan-African movement by journeys and lectures. He attended the Third Pan-African Congress in London and Lisbon and then visited the West Coast of Africa, stopping at Liberia, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Konakry and French Senegal, beside touching at the Canary Islands. While in Liberia he was made the special representative of the President of the United States at the second inauguration of the President of Liberia, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. He has lectured in the East and South and Middle West on his African experiences.

Beside this, the Director has published one book, "The Gift of Black Folk," and a number of magazine articles. He has also cooperated with the alumni of Fisk University in advocating important and needed reforms of administration in that great school. This movement is, to his mind, the first step toward reforms in many other Negro colleges.

Financial Report for the Year Ended December 31, 1924

In our opinion the attached Balance Sheet and Statement of Income and Expenses exhibit with substantial correctness the financial position of "The Crisis" as at December 31, 1924, and the result of its operations for the year then ended.

Heaton, Cullinan and Helmus,
Accountants and Auditors.

Statement of Income and Expenses
For the Year Ended December 31, 1924

Income:			
Sales, net of returns		$24,832.03	
Subscriptions		12,192.00	
Advertising		10,879.74	
Interest and Discount		261.41	
Interest on Liberty Bonds		63.75	
Book Department Profit		436.55	
Total Income			$48,665.48
Expenses:			
Publishing:			
Paper	$5,714.10		
Printing	9,339.49		
Engraving	1,463.64		
Total		$16,517.23	
Salaries:			
Executive	$8,600.00		
Office	11,108.50		
Total		$19,708.50	
Sundry:			
Postage	$3,313.10		
Rent	2,079.96		
Stationery and Supplies	802.31		
Telephone and Telegraph	309.03		
Insurance	49.18		
General Expense	3,203.35		
Total		$9,756.93	
Depreciation on Furniture and Fixtures		183.34	
Provision for Doubtful Accounts—Net of Recoveries:			
Agents—Total	$2,911.10		
Charged Against Reserve	1,000.00		
Balance	$1,911.10		

Advertisers—Total	$962.50		
Charged Against Reserve	400.00		
Balance	$562.50		
Total		$2,473.60	
Total Expenses			$48,639.60
Net Income Carried to Balance Sheet			$25.88

Balance Sheet, as at December 31, 1924

Assets

Cash:			
Cash in Banks		$47.38	
Cash on Hand		25.00	
Total			$72.38
Accounts Receivable:			
Advertisers	$5,172.75		
Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts	2,600.00		
		2,572.75	
Agents	9,830.72		
Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts	4,000.00		
		5,830.72	
Total			8,403.47
Inventories:			
Magazines		$400.00	
Paper in Transit		456.57	
Paper at Berkeley Press		242.19	
Books		145.03	
Total			1,243.79
Investments:			
Liberty Bonds		$1,500.00	
Black Swan Phonograph Co.—Stock		640.00	
Total			2,140.00
Deposit with Post Office			325.00
Deferred Charges:			
Printing and Paper, January, 1925, Issue		1,126.59	
Supplies		152.29	
Unexpired Insurance Premiums		19.89	
Total			1,298.77
Furniture and Fixtures, Net of Depreciation			3,483.44
Total Assets			$16,966.85

LIABILITIES		
Accounts Payable:		
Trade	$3,705.98	
Special Contribution, "History of Negro in the War"	83.25	
Total		$3,789.23
Advertisers' Credit Balances		784.00
Reserve for Unexpired Portion of Subscriptions		5,000.00
Total		$9,573.23
CAPITAL		
Balance January 1, 1924, as adjusted	$7,367.74	
Net Income for the Year Ended December 31, 1924	25.88	
Total Capital as at December 31, 1924		7,393.62
Total Liabilities and Capital		$16,966.85

The End of the Arkansas Cases

Subsequent to the close of the year 1924 and prior to the printing of this report, the last six men sentenced to death in connection with the Phillips County, Arkansas, "riots," of October, 1919, were freed from prison. These cases, arising from economic exploitation under the share cropping system and told of in detail in the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Annual Reports, represent one of the most stubbornly contested legal battles ever waged for the Negro. The victory which resulted in the freeing of twelve men condemned to death and sixty-seven sentenced to long prison terms is without doubt the greatest of its nature ever won. Moorfield Storey, president of the N. A. A. C. P., and Scipio A. Jones of Little Rock, the Association's attorney in Arkansas, rendered notable service in these cases.

GOLD MEDAL TRADES UNION COUNCIL

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